

JPRS-EER-89-010  
30 JANUARY 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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## INTRABLOC

Activities of 'Free Romania' Group in Hungary  
29000008a Paris *LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE*  
in French 18 Nov 88 p 21

[Article by Veronique Soule]

[Text] Budapest—Virgil Bajan climbs up on the statue pedestal and says he is about to make an announcement. A small, shivering group silently crowds around him. Virgil announces that "Free Romania" [Romania Libera] is asking people to commemorate the first anniversary of the Brasov riots, then tells those who want to leave for Austria to write their names on a list.

Every day at 1800 hours, some 100 Romanian refugees assemble in front of the Forum Hotel in Budapest at the foot of the statue of Jozsef Eotvos. The meetings are called by Free Romania, the only opposition group in the East tolerated in a "brother country." Formed at the beginning of the year, Free Romania also organizes demonstrations in front of the Romanian Embassy and publishes a newspaper.

"We are working to bring about the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship and to win respect for human rights in Romania. We naturally realize that this will take time." Mircea Purvu, 30, a Bucharest computer engineer, is one of the organizers of Free Romania. A refugee himself, he has applied to go to Canada.

Launched in April, the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA, of which four 10-12-page issues have appeared, has a circulation of several dozen. Aurel and Doinea Rosca began the project. They put out the first issues; then, following their underground departure for Vienna, Mircea and a friend, Virgil, took up the task.

Free Romania, which says it has some 300 members, collects detailed information. Its organizers keep figures on the number of refugees sent back, border incidents, even the number killed or wounded.

The closing of the Western countries is one of the main causes of Free Romania. Austria and Sweden, which once took in Romanians without visas, have practically closed their borders and even sent Romanian refugees seeking asylum to Hungary. Only Denmark remains open. The other European countries, the United States and Canada only accept political refugees, a status impossible to obtain in Budapest.

In his plastic bag, Mircea carries all the appeals issued by Free Romania. He engaged in no political activity in Romania. "We just used to talk among friends, being very careful." In Budapest, Mircea has finally found the means to act.

## BULGARIA

Torture of Minorities Seen Continuing  
35540032 Istanbul *YENI BATI TRAKYA* in Turkish  
Oct 88 pp 13-20 ff

[Unattributed report based on interviews with refugees from Bulgaria: "Bulgarian Atrocities Continue"; names of Bulgarians given as printed]

[Excerpts] Ismail Ahmedoglu and his wife, Aysel Ahmedoglu, from Demirciler Village, attached to the former Cumali in Bulgaria, could not stand Bulgarian oppression and fled to Turkey. [passage omitted]

To get away from the Bulgarian oppression, Ismail and Aysel Ahmedoglu went to Hungary with a tour group and finally reached Turkey after days of agony in Romania, Yugoslavia and West Germany. The Ahmedoglus described their escape as follows:

"They are sending us as tourists only to communist countries like Hungary. We left the group in Hungary and hid in the woods. We got in touch with some Turkish TIR drivers here and they took us to Mainz in West Germany. [passage omitted]

"We did not want to die in Bulgaria. They are having priests bury our dead in Bulgarian cemeteries. Guns are being turned on our villages at this moment. They are still singing the same refrain, telling us 'You are Bulgarian, not Turkish.' They tell us that anyone who wants to may go to the mosque, but they keep records of those who go and later torture them."

Ahmet Beysim escaped to Turkey from Yugoslavia while serving his 6 months' military duty in 1986. He brought his brother, high school student Mehmet Beysim, with him from Bulgaria. Beysim said that he had to return to Bulgaria when he received reports that his father and other members of his family were being tortured. He explained:

"They arrested me and threw me in prison as soon as I went. I stayed in jail for 50 days. Then they took me to a central prison in Sofia. The majority of the inmates there were Turks. Many of them had been imprisoned because they would not agree to change their names. [passage omitted] The torture to which the prisoners were subjected was horrifying. One or two of my friends drank so much they were living vegetables. There were Turks who had been kept in prison for a year, 2 years. Diseases were injected into their bloodstream. They tortured people by putting them in barrels that a man could fit into only by doubling over, spinning them and then punching them in the kidneys. First they gave me a 10-year sentence. Then they made me sign a document saying that I would be loyal to Bulgaria and would not get involved in political causes. They lied to the Amnesty



Organization delegations. They made all of the prisoners sign letters saying, "We are comfortable and happy in Bulgaria," and gave them to the Amnesty Organization delegations."

**'I Was National Deputy but Did Not Forget My Fatherland'**

"I milked cows at the state cooperative where my father worked after I finished high school. I married my husband Ahmet during this time and we had a child. One day the police came to our door and said that I was to be a candidate for national deputy. And I was, in fact. But I was still milking cows.

"I was making 270 levas (about 61,000 liras) in the milking parlor. I was up to my middle in shit every day at the cow shed...and I'm a national deputy with a diplomatic passport in my pocket?"

These are the words of Sevdije Tahiroglu, a Bulgarian national deputy of Turkish extraction who sought asylum in the Turkish embassy in Greece recently and was brought to Turkey with her husband and child after talking with the Greek Government.

Tahiroglu said that she received an additional 250-leva salary after she became national deputy and that with her husband's salary as a bulldozer operator they had an income of nearly 1,000 levas (225,000 liras). Her eyes frequently filled with tears as she described her experiences.

Tahiroglu explained that she had entered the Bulgarian Assembly as the representative of 25,000 people in such a strange and sudden way that she was haunted by various questions. She said that she often went to Sofia after becoming a national deputy and once went to Greece but could not flee on that trip because she did not have her son with her.

"We did not attend party meetings and that sort of thing. They told us what to say and we said it. I was becoming suspicious, anyway, that these men had made me a national deputy with ulterior motives," said Tahiroglu. She continued:

"We began to think that we could easily escape to Turkey after I became a national deputy. My husband and I reached agreement and found the opportunity on the recent trip to Greece. [passage omitted] After arriving in Greece with my husband and son, we saved our lives by taking refuge in the consulate."

Stating that life in Bulgaria has become a virtual hell for Turks, Sevdija Tahiroglu pointed out that the Turks have reached the point of being afraid even to have children because of their fear of Bulgarization and continued:

"We cannot have our children circumcised. We cannot wind our dead in a shroud. They are even interfering in our deaths. My mother-in-law, poor dear, was even giving back her 80-leva monthly retirement pension in fines.

"My mother-in-law is very old and does not speak Bulgarian. She was getting 80 levas from the state monthly because she was retired. Everyone who wears the printed shalwar [traditional baggy trousers worn by women] is fined. So she would have nothing left of her pension, and most of the time, we paid the fines. Just think, she doesn't even have the freedom to wear a shalwar."

Sevdije Tahiroglu said, "We tried to perform our religious obligations despite all the pressure and terrorism," and added that circumcisions are performed in secrecy even though they are banned.

**Forced Signature**

Mumin Gencoglu, general chairman of the Balkan Turks Refugee and Emigration Associations, announced that, according to information they obtained from reliable sources who had been in touch with them just recently, Turkish children are being forced upon reaching age 18 to sign a statement saying they "do not want to return to Turkey." [passage omitted]

**Grave Status of Rhodope Turks Today**

The Marxist-Leninist powers that seized local power in Bulgaria in 1944 and 1945 cruelly mistreated the Rhodope Turks in 1946 and 1947. They took as many as 300,000 of the Turks living in the Rhodope area from their homes at night under military guard and transported them to the interior of Bulgaria in military vehicles. This hardly had a positive effect for "Bulgarization" of the Rhodope Turks. Finally, the BCP Central Committee had to adopt officially the "nationality conversion by secret terrorism resolution" number 549, dated 17 July 1970. Then at the Pashmakli [Smolian] Provincial Congress on 3 August 1970, BCP Central Committee Propaganda Section Chief Rachko Rachkov and Draja Vilcheva made this resolution a topic of open discussion by means of Pashmakli Province Propaganda Section Chief Vasil Zangof. Official "Bulgarization" of the Rhodope Turks had been launched. This resolution and its rationale were published in the 6 August 1970 issue, number 89/1435 of the Pashmakli newspaper RODOPSKI USTREM. Cumaibala [as published], Tatar Pazardzhik and Pashmakli Provinces were approved as the "pilot zone" for implementation of "Bulgarization" of the Rhodope Turks.

**We Have To Face the Facts**

Since this inhumane and illegal resolution, unfortunately, never got the reaction it should have from the competent Turkish authorities, the Bulgarian authorities

have committed the ultimate effrontery of "Bulgarizing" 2 million innocent Rhodope Turks under the oppression of the military and police forces. Many deplorable, inhumane events and attempts at wholesale massacre have occurred in many places in the Rhodope Mountains from 14 March 1972 to the present. While these situations were reported on radio and in the press in other Balkan and Western nations, our press was virtually prevented from publishing anything about the Rhodopes, and satisfactory information was never given to the press about the developments in the Rhodopes. [passage omitted]

#### **Methods Now Practiced To Annihilate 2 Million Rhodope Turks**

##### **A. Assimilative Genocide**

##### **B. Mortal Genocide**

I. Those who implement the Assimilative Genocide project:

The Bulgarian authorities have formed a "secret terrorist organization" named "Rhodope" under the DS [State Security] espionage section. The head of this organization is a fanatic, sadist DS chief named Peter Marimov. Another DS chief named Alexander Karamunchukov edits the journal RODOPA. The names and duties of all those involved in applying to the Rhodope Turks the many aspects included in the "annihilation by cultural means" exceed the thousands.

These people, with all the resources of the state at their disposal, act on the principle of Bulgarian "cultural nationalism" for the "Bulgarization" of the 2 million Turks in the Rhodopes. Their activities include arranging letters, articles, conferences, seminars and pre-planned rallies. These activities have the following main objectives:

1. Degradation of the Turkish language.
2. Presenting the Turks as a barbaric nation.
3. Denigrating Islam and the preference of the "Bulgarian Orthodox" religion if a religion must be chosen.
4. All Turks in Bulgaria are originally Bulgarians. They must now revert to their origins.
5. It is unnecessary to say the prayers and observe Islamic principles. If one desires a form of religious worship, he must go to the Bulgarian churches as here one also gets moral reinforcement through the organ and piano.
6. Turks must be buried under the supervision of priests.

7. Turkish and Islamic names express backwardness. Since everyone is "Bulgarian," they must take "Bulgarian names" en masse without ever causing the authorities difficulty.

8. Young males must never be circumcised; circumcision is an expression of backwardness.

9. There is no need for Islamic-Turkish religious officials. The Bulgarian priests may perform this task.

10. The Islamic wedding ceremony, memorial readings and reciting the Koran are meaningless. The eulogies of the Bulgarian saints must be read instead.

11. The seclusion of Turkish women and observance of the veil are meaningless. The veil must be abolished wherever it may be found.

Bulgarian communist intellectuals are obsessed with these matters and cause Rhodope Turks who object to their ideas to be subjected to sadistic torture by denouncing them to the DS espionage and "MVR" sections. The following are the state organizations that are coordinated on this:

A. DS espionage section

B. MVR section

C. Party and district officials

D. KOMSOMOL

E. OTECHESTVEN FRONT

F. Party propaganda and agitation sections

II. Those who implement the Mortal Genocide Project:

Since the "Bulgarization procedures" practiced against the Rhodope Turks for many years have contained numerous inhumane factors, they have always results in reactions, resentment and banishments from one place to another. In fact, the "nationality conversion by secret terrorism resolution" No 549 of 17 July 1970 has had no positive results at all. Despite all this, Bulgarian state officials have applied every legal and illegal method available to get the 2 million Turks of the Rhodopes to become "Bulgarian Orthodox." They have shamelessly acted in a medieval mentality [words omitted] from world nations, perpetrating, as known, regional massacres in various places from 14 March 1972 to our present time. [passage omitted]

#### **Some Examples of Rhodope Massacres**

While hundreds have lost their lives individually to the bullets of Tetevenli automatic weapons, hundreds of others have been crippled by having their hands, arms

and feet broken in multiple places under torture. On 11 May 1972, 475 people from the vicinities of Belicha, Kraishita, Yakuruda, Avramovo and Babek were taken in military vehicles to Razlog [place names as published]. During these events, 385 Turks who would not consent to the "Bulgarization process" in the places named above were murdered. On 18 May 1972, the bodies of 131 Turks were found near Samokov. Studies performed on the bodies proved officially that each of them had been horribly tortured before being killed. There were also hundreds of male and female bodies found unburied, partially decayed and fetid in Yunda Balkan. Only the body of Mustafa Bankalioglu was able to be identified from among these hundreds of bodies. These people had been so horribly tortured before they were killed that, even as a result of the studies performed on the bodies, they could not be identified by family members who miraculously remained alive. Cumaibala and vicinity were the "target" of numerous open attacks on 11 May, 18 May, 23 May and 15 June 1972. Infantry units, artillery battalions, motorized units and tens of thousands of German shepherd dogs actively participated in the series of massacres that took place on those dates.

Also, on 18 May 1972, 20-year-old Hatice Sabriye Mekloglu died after hours of torture in her home in Yakuruda. BCP Central Committee member Sabotin Genov and deputy general secretary Boris Avramov, who came from Sofia especially to direct the operation in and around Yakuruda on 19 May 1972, took the most active jobs and gave firm orders for local officials to receive the most inhumane treatment. In the operation on this date, that is, 18 May 1972, 30 youths were murdered for refusing to sign the "Bulgarization formulas." To compound the horror for the area Turks, a tragicomic "people's court" set up on the scene condemned Yakuruda residents Abdi Ibrahimoglu and Sabri Mehmetoglu to death, and sentenced Recep Ibrahimoglu and Cemal Mehmetoglu to 20 years and Musa Ibrahimoglu, Huseyin Ibrahimoglu and Omer Yusufoglu to 15 years at hard labor. The rationale for their convictions was that they did not approve the "Bulgarization procedure." After committing thousands of political crimes, they set up "people's courts" that can only be described as "tragicomic" and, staffing them with inhumane DS espionage agents who act totally on the basis of Bulgarian chauvinism, try to persuade the neighboring countries that they are acting within the law. The series of events described above occurred from 14 March to 15 June 1972 in locales inhabited only by Turks and attached to the capital of Cumaibala. [passage omitted]

#### **Bulgarian Communists and Recent Communist Turkish Rhodope Massacre**

The Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee's "nationality conversion by secret terrorism resolution" No 549, dated 17 July 1970, has not accomplished a single desired result so far. Heading the list of those who are so insistent on implementation in the Rhodopes of this notorious resolution are names such as Pashmakli

Riot [savet] Chief Dimitrof, Pashmakli National Deputy Mitko Grigorof, Pashmakli Bulgarian "National Intelligence Section" Chief Staff Infantry Colonel Keserof, Palas DS Chief Colonel Onev, Maden MVR Chief Georgiev, Daridere Bulgarian-Greek border garrison Commander Infantry Colonel Kamenof, regional police chief Cekerof Kostandin and his assistant Tranpof. Those primarily responsible for the local massacres and terrorist operations in the Rhodopes are those people listed. They are primarily responsible for the bloody massacre that occurred in the Rhodopes between 13 March and 18 March 1972, shifting from place to place and lasting 4 to 5 days. We hold reams of documents clearly confirming this occurrence. [passage omitted]

### **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

#### **Deterioration of Environmental Conditions Noted 24000030 Prague KVETY in Czech 29 Sep 88 pp 4-7**

[Article by Jiri Fleyberk: "The 'Laurels' of an Inglorious Lead"]

[Excerpts] There is the earth. On this earth there are continents, on the continents there are countries. In Europe alone state borders enclose 34 of them. When in 1972 a United Nations conference in Stockholm found that the environment on our "sole earth" is seriously endangered, it referred perhaps primarily to "the good old continent." Czechoslovakia was then in the middle, not only geographically but also in regard to environmental dangers.

Much has changed in 16 years. On the earth, in Europe, in its "heart" Czechoslovakia jumped up to one of the inglorious leading positions. And our capital—it leads without a rival. [passage omitted]

It's not only scientific journals churning out disaster scenarios, exhorting and agitating. Activists by the million are engaged in environmental protection; ecology is gaining weight in political party programs. The world is struggling for existence.

An exaggeration? Not at all. Only lack of information can make light of the seriousness of the situation. Because where are the arguments to sustain optimistic declarations that "Czechoslovakia is not as badly off with environment as one hears," and that Prague comes close to a spa somewhere in the Alpine foothills? If ignorance can pass as an argument, then only within an ignorant debate. It surely does not reflect facts—whether published or not.

Sixteen years have elapsed since the UN conference in Stockholm. It was sufficient time not only for developing "ecological activities" but also for recording the first results.



When a Czech professional journal prints the statement that "In the recent decades the quality of possibly all components of the natural and human environment throughout the country's territory has deteriorated sharply," it briefly means this: things have gotten rough. Words, no matter how lofty, and declarations, however binding, have bumped up against the hard shell of reality of numbers and statistics.

The average life expectancy for our population has for several decades remained at about 70.5 years. The United Nations put the level for developed countries at 70 years—so we are quite close. But more precisely: we are at the bottom of the list of 27 European states which were evaluated. (In the 1960's we occupied the 10th place...)

The Most, Chomutov, Usti nad Labem and Teplice okreses show a mortality rate nearly double the national average. The increased sickness rate is already showing in economic results.

The damage to our water economy, so difficult to quantify, may be "explained" in part by the well-known consequences of the mass application of fertilizers and chemical pesticides, and in part by the less-known fact that we treat a mere six percent of sewage water. So for instance the cities of Usti nad Labem, Hradec Kralove, Pardubice, or Ceske Budejovice have no sewage treatment plants or wholly inadequate ones, and the loss of potable water due to neglect of municipal water systems exceeds 40 percent in many of our cities—including Prague!

The unprecedented progress of soil degradation can hardly be "excused" by "external factors beyond local control" if we know that more than a half of the country's territory consists of farmland, meadows and pasturelands burdened by excessive application of chemicals, heavy mechanization, frequently unsuitable recultivation programs, and the like.

Why do our cows have what is probably the shortest life expectancy in Europe, why are our livestock products ever more contaminated, why do the state lists show 57 percent of higher flora as endangered, why do some estimates of the number of endangered amphibian species list them at 100 percent, fish at 28 percent, birds at 33 percent, and mammals up to 50 percent? Any answer to these and other questions which does not take into account our own unreasonableness will be a lie.

For all the world's experts are uniquely agreed on one thing: the global cause lies in an extensive economic development, in excessive demands on natural resources and our planet's ecological balances. This goes for our planet, our Europe, our country. This is because the "global cause" is the end result of unreasoning actions of billions of people, because Czechoslovakia's grievous ecological balance can be righted only by ourselves.

And this includes the least evident, the least visible but the most important and most endangered component of our environment—the atmosphere.

The main reason: Of all places in the country including the North Bohemian kraj, Prague is unquestionably the worst as regards the purity of the atmosphere. Expressed in tons per square kilometer per year, our capital produces the largest quantities of dust, carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides, and hydrocarbons; it is second in sulphur dioxide. Let us add the high density of residential housing, traffic density, the multitude of local heat sources—and, the "laurels" of an inglorious lead cannot be overlooked even accidentally.

Further: The capital's lead predetermines our state's position within Europe. Let's stay with the best-known atmospheric pollutants, the sulphur compounds. Thanks to the Cooperative Program for Monitoring and Measuring Long-Distance Transmission of Atmospheric Pollutants in Europe (EMEP) whose two measuring stations operate also on our territory, we have objective data available to us.

Whether expressed in tons per inhabitant, per square kilometer, or per unit of the national product, Czechoslovakia occupies always one of the top spots. Roughly 60 percent of our emissions are being "exported" to other countries; the "import" is demonstrably less. Most of the neighboring states have over time succeeded in curbing emissions of sulphur compounds; in our country, they were increasing until recently. And so it goes.

While, for instance, London (where the "Great Smog" of 1952 saw the concentration of sulphur dioxide reach 4,000 micrograms per cubic meter as a result of which 4,000 people died) has long shifted to high-grade fuels and left smog to history, Prague "quietly" survived a barely smaller smog-shock in January 1982 and again in February 1987! Readings at that time reached up to 3,000 micrograms...

What is the Prague inspectorate actually doing?!

"What are you doing?"

"We are doing what we can, with our jurisdiction limited and with insufficient authority. But all this flows from long-term trends. After decades of ignoring the fundamental laws of ecology we have reached the point where each improvement involves massive costs. A large number of problems are nevertheless (or perhaps for this very reason) being presently resolved by simply not talking about them."

"Let's talk about them. What are you doing?"

"Our jurisdiction includes Prague and the Central Bohemian kraj. More precisely, everything that has a smoke-stack or another outlet for emission into the atmosphere.



This in itself is a limiting factor because Prague especially has a huge number of small sources of pollution which are outside our authority. To give a not uncommon example, we are unable to take action against a workshop which dumps toxic waste in its yard and simply burns it."

"But the law No. 35 about protecting the environment..."

"It reflects the time when it was written, which was in 1967. Not a single paragraph in it has been amended since that time. Only a certain shift in public awareness has forced preparation of a new law. Until its adoption, No. 35 is still in force."

"There surely has been a shift in public awareness: not so long ago, belching smokestacks symbolized prosperity..."

"Yet the time has also brought about a shift in technologies, and in this perspective the visible smoke—that is, the particulate matter—is the smallest evil. Unfortunately, the emissions contain not only the five main compounds which you listed in connection with Prague, but really the entire Mendeleyev table of elements in the most varied compounds, plus a rich spectrum of organic matter. As is often the case, the least visible are the hard toxins."

"Let us concede that the hard toxins are emitted into the atmosphere most frequently by industrial plants rather than for instance block heating furnaces. How does the law regulate your relations with them?"

"The law determines the permissible limit of emissions and the penalties according to the extent of pollution above the set standard. In practice it is so that the enterprise producing pollutants above the permissible limits pays a precisely calculated annual fee. At present we have on record 830 sources of emissions of which 160 are paying."

"Specifically..."

"The Malesice heating plant, 800,000 korunas; the Radotin cement factory, 335,000; Avia Letnany, 282,000 per year... But this is not the rank order of the largest polluters in Prague. The law—and this is another weak spot in it—takes no account of the concentration and composition of the emissions but rather of their quantity per unit of time in relation to the height of the smokestack. So the enterprise simply raises the smokestack height if it wants to avoid the penalty."

"Is this a theoretical possibility, or current practice?"

"Sadly, the practice. For instance the Michle heating plant, though producing over 6,000 tons of sulphur dioxide annually, has smokestacks tall enough to escape a single koruna in penalties. The law in fact is so

benevolent that while "evaluating" a ton of dust at a hundred korunas in annual fees, it does not distinguish whether the dust contains harmless matter or toxins."

"I assume that you..."

"We do analyze emissions, even though this lies outside our mandate. But we are far from able to follow up on everything. It is amazing that in the whole country there is no professional outfit which would conduct the measurements."

"My mind returns to the little 'bonfire' in the factory yard. Are you telling me that this is an uncontrollable method of sending toxins into the atmosphere?"

"Unfortunately yes, as far as we are concerned. Of course we alert the firemen, the hygienists... But our experience with the hygienic service gives me little confidence."

"Wouldn't this call for a clarification?"

"For instance, the hygienist is a direct participant in the construction permit process; we are called on only when the National Committee finds it necessary. It's a rather standard practice that we are silently 'forgotten' while the hygienist fails to list in his comments the kind of technical measures that would protect the environment."

"Let me be specific: last year the hygienist of the Prague 4 okres National Committee approved the construction of a furnace plant in the Modraay sugar factory. He had comments on noise, lighting, a possible oil leak and so on, but what evidently escaped him was that such a furnace plant is above all an atmospheric polluter. We have many similar protocols."

"But what can happen is that an aluminum foundry, 'properly' designed according to investor blueprints and sanctified by the hygienist, has its ventilation duct emitting escaped fluorine and chlorine vapors, in all probability destroying the Pruhonice Park. Had it not been for the initiative of the Metaz plant itself, we would not have even found out about it."

"Do you at least have the avenue of pursuing subsequent sanctions?"

"Of course we do. We can order technical measures which however would have cost much less if carried out during construction. We can also propose a penalty. But only propose, because it is ultimately levied by the National Committee. Frequently, for this or another reason, the National Committee sets it lower..."

"And, speaking of sanctions, here too the law No. 35 has been a disappointment. For the paying organizations the penalty is set according to the amount of the annual fee. This leads to such paradoxical situations that those

paying little can be levied a maximum of 10 korunas for a serious violation, while a large payer can be assessed even as much as 200,000 korunas in a possible minimum penalty for a mere trifle."

"What else is giving you a hard time?"

"Questions of the type, 'What are you doing?' In the Neratovice Spolana plant we are dealing with a number of measures connected with the construction of a second unit for filtering waste gases from the viscous yarn production line. The Melnik electric power plant is building a desulfurization unit based on the additive method; the thermal power plant Velešlavín is being converted to gas; endless disputes are swirling around an eminently ecological construction project: the Malesice incinerator with a second-stage toxic gas separator... We follow, propose, argue. And we await the results with bated breath.

"All the same, we know that real results will come only when all, including you, become aware that environmental protection cannot be the business of the technical inspectorate alone."

Much has changed in 16 years. On the earth, in Europe, in its "heart" Czechoslovakia "jumped up" to occupy one of the sad leadership positions. There is almost nothing that a bunch of professionals and a bunch of environmental protection activists can do, and not much will be helped by "rescue operations" of any kind if the fundamentals are still missing.

Ecological thinking in economic matters, economic thinking in ecology. Forward thinking in all of us. Let us come to enjoy a different kind of leadership in Europe.

#### **Public Views Social Benefits With Caution**

24000016 Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech  
8 Oct 88 p 1

[Article based on data from the Institute for Public Opinion Research prepared by (jp): "On Social Benefits"]

[Text] The results of a public opinion survey on social subjects from 1984 to 1987 showed that a majority of the citizens of the CSSR rate the social benefits favorably. Roughly half of those questioned (51 percent) stated that they had a feeling of security, but also included some exceptions to this.

Twenty one percent think that they do not have a feeling of social security and four percent say that they definitely do not have it. Five percent of the CSSR's inhabitants did not express an opinion on this question. Feelings of social security are greater among the young people up to 18 years of age (this may be because the feeling of security for young people includes their parents, who arrange and take care of everything for them and sometimes even push them along to "security").

For the question of whether our society provides good conditions for leading a satisfying life, the prevailing answer is "yes" (36 percent of the answers were definitely in agreement and 50 percent were in partial agreement). The citizens at the same time, as has been known for years, critically pointed mainly to an unsatisfactory housing situation (46 percent dissatisfied) and to inadequate social assistance to families, especially during the period when young married couples are entering into social life, setting up a household, and caring for a small child or children. Another "critical" period is when the children are growing up. Sixty five percent of the population is not satisfied with society's support in this phase of family life.

Sharp criticism is directed at the current system of the emotional upbringing of children or the possibility or capability of imparting a feeling to a child, taking care of it, and developing it. In order for the emotional upbringing to improve, the citizens propose two economic "incentive" factors. Half of the respondents feel that it would help for the mothers to have a 6 hour workday while the children were going to elementary school, of course, while retaining their original pay level. Another thing that would help is for the mother to be able to remain at home until the children start going to school. This opinion is held by 32 percent of the population or almost one-third of them.

Older citizens point to the shortage of services specifically for them, such as retirement homes and the opportunity for community meals. Satisfaction with the amount of retirement pension starts at Kcs 1,500 (but this data was last determined in 1984).

Four-fifths of the citizens described the health care as good and one-fifth as bad. We rate health care as good in the level of care for mothers and children, the services provided at spas, and the skill of specialist doctors. But dissatisfaction is growing, and this is also a well-known fact, with the shortage of medicines in both the CSR and the SSR (43 percent dissatisfied). The rigid system of medical care is the subject of frequent criticism. Nineteen percent of the citizens complain about prolonged waits for treatment and 10 percent of us are afraid that if they are not "noticeable" they will not receive high quality medical treatment.

Public opinion is a mosaic of various opinions which are often even contradictory. One's own life experience has the greatest influence on opinions and people judge their social situation according to that rather than according to the measures taken. They point out with justification that these are sometimes carried out slowly, heavily-handedly, and with detours. When the citizens do not see any immediate concrete results taking place around them, they begin to have doubts and most of them will not buy the argument that some things cannot be changed all at once and immediately.

## HUNGARY

**'Paradoxical' Role of Grosz Examined**  
29000010 Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE  
in French 17 Nov 88 p 29

[Article by Veronique Soule]

[Text] Budapest—Karoly Grosz likes to talk: to the world's great leaders, the international and Hungarian press, Hungarian intellectuals. He invites to his office, emigres throughout the world, his comrades at party forums, and so on. It is one of his weaknesses, his detractors point out. To the contrary, his supporters retort, it is the mark of a modern leader. Who does not talk rhetoric, a worthy emulator of Gorbachev.

"Do you see? If I were younger or more intelligent, I could continue to combine the two posts of prime minister and general party secretary, but I can't do it any more." Meeting with French and Spanish journalists in Budapest on 9 November, the eve of his departure for Madrid and Paris, the No 2 man in Hungary displayed all his talents as a communicator. Direct and modest, he explained why he would give up the post as head of the government this coming 24 November.

A vigorous handshake to welcome reporters, looking his interlocutors straight in the eye, responding clearly and decisively and casually telling a few jokes, the Hungarian regime's No 2 man, promoted to head the party in May, first of all updated the leadership's style. For the stubbornness of an aging Kadar, rigidly adhering to his principles ("Work harder!" he would repeat to an exasperated people), he substituted a versatile pragmatism and formidable energy.

The man who won the pitched battle to succeed Kadar is a seasoned professional politician. A publisher by trade, as his official biography likes to emphasize, Karoly Grosz followed the trajectory of the classic apparatchik. Joining the party in 1945 at the age of 15, he quickly became part of the hierarchy and moved up the ladder. He began by organizing young people, then moved on to departmental responsibilities, made a detour to radio and television and then to the agitation department of the Central Committee. He would exercise his "worker's" profession for only a few years.

In 1956 Karoly Grosz was 26 years old. He admitted having "made a few mistakes" in his life. His attitude that year was as one of them. Then heading up a regional daily, he published the student appeal issued at the beginning of the uprising. "It is true; I had the wrong idea of the party's future role." Grosz went back to working in a factory for a time. Then, after "reevaluating" that period, he jumped on the new Kadarist band wagon.

An enthusiastic Gorbachev supporter, Grosz had not always been among the most ardent reformers in his country. In the early 1970's, an offensive of "conservatives" forced a slowdown and finally abandonment of the new economic mechanism launched in 1968. Grosz was then in their camp.

The man who emerged in 1984 at the head of the Budapest party, a key post, had a very different image from the one he now exhibits. His detractors call him rigidly "proworker," even a "demagogue." Intellectuals in particular, worrying about his rise to power, do not like him. Actually, the man remains little known. During the Kadar era, it was bad form to stand out. In order to protect one's chances, it was better to be discreet.

The leader in him would not be revealed until last year, after he was promoted to head of the government in June. Some then viewed the appointment as a poisoned gift from Kadar to a potential successor. Actually, it would be a springboard to the highest post. Promoted to a difficult position as Hungary plunged further into the crisis and discontent mounted, Grosz proved his political gifts.

He loudly condemned the erring economic ways, preached reform and called on the people to make new sacrifices. At the same time, he refined his image in the West, where he made "triumphant" trips. In London, he proclaimed himself an admirer of Margaret Thatcher. In New York, he met with the emigre community.

Even his opponents recognize his ability and intelligence. And yet, in spite of everything, Grosz' record is still mixed. As head of the government, he has not succeeded in reviving the economy or, in particular, checking inflation, one of his goals. The rate of inflation this year (16.5 percent) will surpass estimates by 1.5 points. "This because of devaluation of the forint," he points out. Grosz does not like to be caught failing red-handed.

The official was happier as head of the party. Factions definitely continue to exist, but Grosz manages somehow to maintain a balance, the famous "center" where any Hungarian leader must stay if he is to last. A reformist but cautious, he retains the trust of the hierarchy. Open and somewhat tolerant in public life, he no longer frightens his "liberal" colleagues on the Politburo.

At a time when Hungary is initiating change, Grosz appears as a paradoxical figure. Changes are speeding up but he is not leading them. Relatively liberal, he does not apply the brakes, but prefers a more progressive pace. "He is at the center of the party but not of society," explains one journalist. It is as if, in the current turmoil, the No 1 man in Hungary plays but a secondary role.

Actually, Grosz embarks on his reign during a period of transition, as the country begins a confused metamorphosis. The long-awaited post-Kadar period burst the



final bonds, and pluralism, which took its place at an accelerated pace: political clubs, independent trade unions and "preparties," imposed itself on the new leadership.

Grosz obviously has no easy task, facing a crisis of confidence, economic deterioration and social tensions. Curiously enough, however, this leader who boasts of speaking clearly remains somewhat vague about his intentions. Does he or does he not favor the introduction of the multiparty system in Hungary? And if so, within what length of time? His government has announced the theoretical possibility of creating parties, but no one speaks of alternating power. When questioned, Grosz refers one to the debate underway on revision of the constitution, election reform, the introduction of two chambers in Parliament and the institution of a presidency.

"They say: 'We are for the multiparty system and we have even passed a law.' Then they add that we need another law," one member of the opposition ironically comments. "Therefore, the announcement of the multiparty system does not mean a multiparty system in Hungary." Many of his detractors thus accuse Grosz of carrying out "halfway reforms."

"We must shift into reverse and take the path of a mixed economy." The No 1 man in Hungary is more "transparent" on economic issues. A supporter of the introduction of the rules of the market throughout the economy and expansion of the private sector, he has renewed his taste for clear formulas: "There are no socialist banks or capitalist banks. There are only banks that operate well or poorly."

What form will "the Grosz era" then take? The No 1 official refuses to build castles in the sky. When asked whether he sometimes thinks about a possible failure by Gorbachev and the effect it would have on Hungary, he dismisses the question: "No." Grosz is a fighter who scarcely likes to tell his troubles. When we interviewed him, he would confess to but one weakness: his fondness for cooking for his grandchildren. But he no longer finds the time. "Today, all our minutes are counted."

## POLAND

**POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup**  
26000234a Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 50, 10 Dec 88 p 2

[Excerpts]

### National News

[Passage omitted] The ZSL Main Committee met. The party maintains its position: for the introduction of a free-market food economy as a factor to stimulate production, freeing processing from the girdle of subsidies which in the coming year, if nothing is changed, will

reach the unbelievable level of 2 trillion zloty. The plenum released Kazimierz Olesiak, who has taken over the position of deputy premier and minister in the government from the position of secretary of the Main Committee; it named Stanislaw Sliwinski (currently, deputy minister of agriculture, forestry, and the food industry) and Aleksander Luczak (deputy minister of national education) to the Presidium of the Main Committee and secretaries of the Main Committee.

The government proposal, "Plan for Consolidating the National Economy for 1989-90," in the opinion of the economic policy commission of the PZPR Central Committee "as yet does not constitute a sufficiently coherent and transparent statement of the new economic policy." Wladyslaw Baka, secretary of the Central Committee, at a meeting with journalists drew attention to the fact that the proposal in its current form "takes too little account of such goals as overcoming inflation and improving market supplies."

Hiromichi Ishihara, a Japanese businessman and representative of Mitsubishi in Warsaw, said in *KURIER POLSKI* that our starved market is one of the largest buyers of Japanese radio, television, and video equipment in Europe. As a purchaser of videotape recorders, Poland occupies eighth place worldwide.

Asked another time whether the currency will be exchanged, the government spokesman responded: "For the nth time, I solemnly assure you, no. There will be no exchange of money."

The exhibition by Italian publishers in the Warsaw Press Club at the traffic circle on Nowy Swiat "is not only the first we have organized in Poland, but also the first Italian publishing exhibition abroad on such a scale," Gian Domenico Zuccala, secretary general of the Association of the Italian Periodical Press (USPI), told *EXPRESS WIECZORNY*. The presence of Giovanni Spadolini, the chairman of the senate of Italy, at the opening and his speech testify to the importance the Italian side attaches to this exhibit. [passage omitted]

The situation at the border crossings with Czechoslovakia was the subject of talks between the director general of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the ambassador of the CSSR in Poland. It was judged essential to take immediate, effective action to restore normal conditions for crossing the border.

The council members of Katowice have restored A. Zhdanov Street to its former name: Koszarowa.

The stock company "Szczecin-Swinoujscie Free Trade Zone" announced the issuance of stock with a fivefold markup. The nominal value of each of the 2,000 shares is 1 million zloty, but each share will be sold for 5 million zloty.



### On the Left

[Passage omitted] The USSR has ceased jamming the Russian-language programs of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, Deutsche Welle, and Radio Israel.

K. Grosz spoke of the political dangers to the party aktiv of Budapest: "The city is less calm than the countryside. Tensions appear primarily among young people and intellectuals." The speaker drew attention to the fact that the aggressiveness of the few, unfriendly, loud counter-revolutionary forces favoring the restoration of the bourgeois order has also increased. [passage omitted]

"Soviet citizens think the situation that has come into being in Soviet-Albanian relations since the beginning of the 1960's is unnatural. A situation in which two socialist states maintain no contacts. In the Soviet Union, the conviction predominates that overcoming the heritage of the period of isolation between our two countries, jointly seeking ways to restore equal, bilaterally beneficial cooperation acceptable to both countries would be in the interest of the people of both countries, of the cause of peace, and of socialism," states an article in PRAVDA on the occasion of the national day of Albania.

Ramiz Alia on collectivization and changes in agriculture: "The continuation of collectivization has become the touchstone of the continuation of the revolution. The destruction of its values and the victories by the revisionists in the countries of the East began with the liquidation of the achievements in collectivization. . . ."

There is a great deal in the Hungarian press on the Czechoslovak customs rigors. The press emphasizes that by introducing new export rules Czechoslovakia has begun a small economic war with its neighbors. The greatest problems occur along the border with Poland. But examples were also given of trains going from Prague to Kiev that stood at the border for 10 to 15 hours because of the CSSR customs agents. [passage omitted]

A change in Hungarian customs regulations: for new cars and cars used less than four years (up to 1,600 cm<sup>3</sup>), beginning in 1989, the duty equals 10 percent of the value given in West German specialist catalogues.

The GDR has accused the FRG of giving support to the recruitment of three 17-year members of the famous Dresden Choir of the Holy Cross, who separated themselves from the group during appearances in Tokyo and soon appeared in a children's choir in Windsbach in the FRG. ADN commentary: "For German-German affairs, the failure to resist the use of dishonorable methods with respect to citizens of the GDR who are only school pupils is a large burden. . . . This type of calculated, state-sanctioned recruitment is not an appropriate instrument for deepening the cultural exchanges agreed to between the two states."

In the GDR people say that the Pope has been asked to pay a visit in May-June 1991. Besides the capital of the

GDR, the Pope would visit West Berlin, Dresden, Misni, Goerlitz, Erfurt, Meiningen, Magdeburg, and Schwerin. More than a million Catholics live in the GDR.

"Why do young workers come to the party with increasing rarity?" asks the Czech journal ZIVOT STRANY. We read there, among other things, that a young worker who shows his desire to enter the party encounters at his place of work, among his colleagues, not only ironic smiles, but even spite and obstacles on the part of some of his colleagues. Sometimes people who have made an application to the CPCZ must be sent into the provinces because the moment they fill out the form, they find no peace. Workers leave the party "most frequently because of the complete lack of interest in party activities, violations of the law, etc."

The paper IZVESTIYA has returned to the executions in Kuropaty in 1937-41 in a special report from Minsk: "Unfortunately, we still cannot say who was shot in Kuropaty. How can one even speak of names, if it is impossible to determine the number of victims. The investigators say that the 510 suspected graves contain the remains of at least 30,000 people. Archaeologists mention a much higher number; in their opinion there may be as many as 900 graves; however, some of them lie under the bypass, which was put through the edge of the forest. . . ."

### Opinions

*Franciszek Szlachcic, former minister of internal affairs:*

The foundation of the effectiveness of the militia are the noncommissioned officers, who wear blue uniforms and daily meet the residents of the cities and countryside (the Infantry of the Ministry of Internal Affairs). Unfortunately, there is a tendency to increase the number of officers and reduce the corps of noncommissioned officers. And I was unable to change it. At that time, there was already a shortage of about 20 percent of patrolmen and noncommissioned officers. They perform the most difficult work of the militia. While working at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, I noted such injustices: the more workers employed in a voivodship command and in the ministry of internal affairs, the more unneeded writing, and the larger the building the militia has, the fewer the number of noncommissioned officers, district patrolmen, and patrols on the streets. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that in Western criminal films, the most important cases are conducted by noncommissioned officers. The higher officers are not wiser but rather interfere. In socialist criminal films, officers conduct even small cases and the generals are the most brilliant."

(ZYCIE LITERACKIE 27 November 1988)

*Dr Janusz Onyszkiewicz, press spokesman for the delegatized NSZZ Solidarity:*

[Question] Would a possible invitation to Solidarity to so-called joint governing of the country be completely unacceptable?

[Answer] I think that for Solidarity taking a place in the government is actually unacceptable. This does not mean that members of Solidarity cannot become members of the government or other bodies of this type. We would do so, however, as individuals, not as delegates of the union. Solidarity can, however, participate, for example, in a debate on the subject of overcoming the crisis and be one of the signers of some social agreement in this area. But the people who sign such an agreement will have to have the mandate of their constituents and to create the mechanisms to obtain or renew the mandate requires the ability to operate openly, legally.

(Interviewed by Adam Kowalski, KONFRONTACJE, November 1988)

*Dr Marek Bartosik, director of the Institute of Electrical Apparatus at the Lodz Polytechnic:*

[Question] Comrade docent is in his second term in office as a member of the party Central Committee and an active member of the Central Committee Education Commission. What have you done, over the years of your membership in such an important body, to change even a little the current situation?

[Answer] This question is not about the effectiveness of my actions in the problem commission of the Central Committee and not about the effectiveness of the Commission, but about the ability of the party, in general, to act effectively: to what degree does the existing system make possible the implementation of party resolutions. If I wanted to avoid the issue, I would say: things are great, we have with significant participation by the Education commission, with great intellectual effort, prepared for the 19th and 26th plenum of the Central Committee, put through at the 10th congress the appropriate documents. But what has resulted from this in practice? Very little.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because our programs and resolutions have no real executive support, and the Central Committee Commission has neither the power nor the systemic resources for such action.

(Interviewed by Magdalena Prochnicka-Jarosz, ZYCIE PARTII, 30 November 1988)

*Father Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, ordinary of the Diocese of Przemyśl:*

[Answer] A nation that is thoughtful and courageous will push toward its goals, can achieve everything. It is difficult to demand that those who have authority themselves surrendered it willingly to someone else, but pressures leading to joint government are essential. Our 40 postwar years have shown unambiguously that when moments of thaw and a time of expanded freedom come, incompetent people have left, and when limited freedom returned, they again surfaced. The nation has shown

great maturity; it knows the boundaries of demands. The nation has not provoked anyone. It is experienced. The state is the property of all. A healthy public opinion must constantly demand truth about the reality in which we live. It is necessary to talk, to conduct a comprehensive dialogue, even risk compromises, always remaining, clearly, ourselves. Obviously, in an atmosphere of a nationwide solidarity with the enduring drive to true, complete pluralism

(Interviewed by Katarzyna Wyzga, NOWE ZYCIE, 20 November-3 December 1988)

*Witold Skrabalak, director, editor in chief of the Book and Knowledge Publishers:*

[Question] When will you publish the equivalent of Roj Medvedev's "Stalin's People," a "Bierut's People"? And the biography of Comrade "Tomasz" himself?

[Answer] As regards the biography of Boleslaw Bierut, I must admit that recently as a result of sharp discussion and dispute, we rejected a proposed text on his life and deeds, for the proposal seemed to us insufficiently critical and incomplete. Surely there will be other authors who soon will effectively take up work on deepening the evaluation of the activities of Bierut and his closest associates.

(Interviewed by Bohdan Knichowiecki, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, 22 November 1988)

*Prof Dr Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee:*

[Question] And why in comments by the leading representatives of the party does the subject of the dictatorship of the proletariat not appear? Is it because that concept should be rejected or perhaps interpreted otherwise?

[Answer] I think simply that we have already gone through the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today the authorities represent the interests of the working class to be sure, but they also represent the interests of other classes and social groups, of all the people who work. The forms of their activities express democracy, popular authority. They are no longer then the unlimited authority of one class.

(Interviewed by Zygmunt Rola, GAZETA POZNAŃSKA, 11 November 1988)

The opinions and views cited in this section do not always agree with those of the editors.

### **Recent PZPR Voivodship Plenums View Enterprise Efficiency, Associations**

**Radom: Export, Wage Increases**  
26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Mieczyslaw Kaca: "Plenary Sessions of PZPR Voivodship Committee: Radom—With Greater Courage and Effectiveness"]

[Excerpts] The PZPR Voivodship Committee's executive board in Radom presented its report at a plenary session convened to discuss party organization tasks implied by the Seventh and Eighth Plenums of the PZPR Central Committee. The report contained the following statement: "The current political situation is the result of the public's dissatisfaction with the past results of implementing the economic reform, the process of inflation in particular, engendering as it does a sense of threat to daily existence."

It was therefore more than mere coincidence that economic problems took up a great deal of the PZPR Voivodship Committee's deliberations. Things are going rather well in Radom Voivodship in this regard. During the first 3 quarters of this year, production sold by industrial producers (calculated in fixed prices) was more than 8 percent higher than last year's.

Export increased by 46 percent. Far more housing was made available than a year ago. But all this does not mean that there are no irregularities in the voivodship's economy or in its political and social operation. For example, Radom Voivodship has several enterprises in which production is shrinking without any decline in employment, while wages are increasing. [passage omitted] There are 136 enterprises with no lasting credit rating.

The rate at which engineering and technological innovations are being introduced is very unsatisfactory. [passage omitted] One of the serious defects of personnel policy that although the new way of filling management positions calls for competitive appointments, this method is barely being used. There have been 52 position changes recently, but competition has been a factor in only four of these cases.

Various positions and views were presented during the multifaceted discussion concerning the socioeconomic situation of the country and the voivodship. [passage omitted]

Jerzy Sobien, a farmer from Zakrzow parish (gmina), called for voivodship initiative in the promised dismantling of the government monopoly in wholesaling crops and livestock. Jerzy Kwasnik, secretary of the PZPR Town Committee, told about an instance of initiative concerning the creation of two city section party committees and neighborhood party action groups.

These instances of inspiration correspond to other voices on the subject and to a suggestion in the resolution passed concerning the creation of a Citizen Consultation Committee under the auspices of the Voivodship People's Council.

**Wloclawek: Food Industry Economy**  
26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
22 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Marek Badtke: "Wloclawek: Everyday Party Membership"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The underlying causes of the difficult social and political situation and the accompanying social tensions are primarily economic. The economy in Wloclawek Voivodship has enjoyed more favorable figures than the national average, it is true, but this does not mean that there are no situations and phenomena calling for radical changes.

"The absence of stable economic playing rules is slowing the rate of development," said Roman Szczepanski of Brzesc Kujawski. Tomasz Szymanski of Zbojno said: "The voivodship's administrative 'over-development' is interfering." Regional monopolists who are strangling the dairy industry are causing problems for farmers. Systems solutions are needed so that opportunity will be created for increased production potential in other plants of the food and agriculture industry. [passage omitted]

The qualitatively new situation requires better preparation to participation in the current political struggle. We must take effective action and use the results of our work to get rid of the odium of conservatism and categorical thinking among us. Some of the party organizations, for example in the Wloclaw Construction Complex and Drumet, and at the meat plants in Czerniewice, managed to discover a new situation involving socialist pluralism. Other organizations are just beginning to set out on a new course. [passage omitted]

Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek, a deputy member of the Politburo, took part in the deliberations. He emphasized the importance of the knowledge necessary to conduct party work under ever changing social conditions. He also called for developing new models in our economy. [passage omitted]

In the housekeeping part of the session, the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek elected Edward Chylinski to the position of Voivodship Committee secretary.



**Leszno: Trade Enterprises**

26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
23 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Henryk Heller: "Plenary Sessions of PZPR Voivodship Committees: Leszno—More Than Merely Objective Difficulties"]

[Excerpts] The plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, held in Leszno (Wielkopolskie) on 22 September, was devoted to the tasks of the party echelons and organizations, and of administrative and economic personnel, to insure greater effectiveness in the implementation of the profound reforms in the way the economy and state function.

The plenary session was chaired by Stanislaw Sawicki, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, and was also attended by delegates of the Leszno party organization to the Tenth Party Congress and a group of representatives from the voivodship's largest places of employment. Kazimierz Grzesiak, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Agricultural Department, was also there. [passage omitted]

At the plenum there was criticism of the fact that among the voivodship enterprises granted credit by the National Bank of Poland, only three economic units set up production of new products, and only one unit introduced a new technological process.

There was also criticism of the course of the job audits in the plants. Up to the present time the audits have been completed only in the Metalplast Construction Component Plants in Leszno and at the Rawag Railway Car Equipment Factory in Rawice. Jobs have been evaluated only at the Leszno Pump Factory.

The organizational structures review is going even worse, especially in voivodship-level units. [passage omitted]

Leszno trade, considered very efficient in Wielkopolska, was also severely criticized. During the deliberations people said that the operation of commercial centers and restaurant facilities needed radical change.

Because of the consistent implementation of the Voivodship People's Council program, the voivodship has already more or less resolved problem of basic health care facilities. [passage omitted]

E. Kłuba, First Secretary of the PZPR Town and Parish Committee in Poniec, talked about the current wave of general criticism and the negative attitude towards just about everything, warning that people needed to consider whether such criticism produces constructive results. After all, criticism must not come to mean that nobody can do anything anymore.

**Lublin: Self-Management Praised**

26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
23 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Kopec: "Lublin—Strive for Public Support"]

[Excerpts] (PAP) The authorities' will to implement the radical economic reforms expressed at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum received support in Lublin Voivodship. [passage omitted] These statements were made on 22 September in Lublin at the plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. They served as the point of departure for the discussion, during which ways were sought for the voivodship party organization to carry out the tasks implied by the resolutions of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. [passage omitted]

"The greatest obstacle to implementing reforms is the bureaucracy inherited from the previous period and the cult of averages," said Edmund Dabrowski, director of the Construction Schools Group in Lublin. Everything is set in terms of the average, from school programs to personnel policy in the enterprises to the tax system. [passage omitted]

A group of invited guests: scientists, intellectuals, culture specialists, and representatives of independent groups took part in the plenum. One of the guests, Jacek Ras, a 30-year-old economist who is chairman of the employees' council at the Agromet Farm Machinery Factory in Lublin, said: "The self-management group has brought a lot of new things to the life of the enterprises. I don't think that what is in the Seventh Party Plenum's resolution on the development of self-management is sufficient. The party supports the reforms, but those of us who are outside the party expect it to push concrete solutions and to see that the reform is implemented, because reality, such as it is, continually strays from the program." [passage omitted]

**Lomza: Firm Liquidations Feared**

26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
23 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Alicja Zagorska: "Lomza—The Dawdlers Must Go"]

[Excerpt] Jan Kowalski, Director of the Chipboard Plant in Grajewo, was asked what sort of measures should be taken in the voivodship to give real shape to the resolution of the Eighth Party Central Committee Plenum. He responded with a short example from his plant. "A 30-percent increase in production at fixed prices would double our financial figures and triple our exports. Each plant's target program must consider exports. Otherwise it is a bad program that should be changed."



Director Kowalski continued: "We talk about poor enterprises, but a reason can always be found to justify the figures, along with a way to pull the plant out of the doldrums. We are simply afraid of the problems associated with eliminating those enterprises which are unable to meet the demands of the present times. But we have to start somewhere, and the central authorities should set this mechanism in motion. We likewise expect the central authorities to develop clear methods of economic functioning, and this must be over an extended period of time."

This voice reflects the feelings of most of the management personnel of the plants that are achieving the basic goals of the economic reforms, despite great limitations. It is just that there are not many such enterprises in Lomza Voivodship. Lomza Voivodship's figures in recent years are especially disturbing. They are below the national average and have forced the voivodship into the bottom tenth percentile. [passage omitted]

Mieczyslaw Czerniawski, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lomza, chaired the plenary deliberations. Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Political Organization Department, was in attendance.

#### **Ciechanow: Local Associations Supported**

26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
26 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Andrzej Socha: "Ciechanow—Open to Regional Initiative"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] On 24 September, Kazimierz Paryszek, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Ciechanow, chaired the deliberations of the committee's ninth plenum. The plenum took up a very important topic, the extension of the role and significance of social organizations and associations in political, social, and economic life.

In his address, Lech Ciarkowski, executive secretary of the Voivodship Committee, said: "Changes and reforms are possible under conditions of social peace and the consolidation of all the social forces of Ciechanow Voivodship. There are more than 70 such organizations and associations here with nearly 220,000 members, and this gives rise to the reflection about whether this tremendous human, intellectual, and material potential is fully appreciated and properly utilized for the good of the society in the town, rural areas, concrete group, and gmina. There is only one answer: No! And for this reason the party echelon in Ciechanow Voivodship is open to new initiative and active participation on the part of activists, and they will be supported."

The subject of several interesting ideas and proposals worthy of consideration and implementation was taken up for the first time at this forum. [passage omitted] Despite this fact, from among the dozen and some

statements made during the discussion, only a few referred to the heart of the matter and showed the concrete possibilities for cooperation and social consolidation during the difficult period of changes and the development of a new plane of understanding. It is too bad that in other statements there was little criticism or self-criticism and that none of the many members of large organizations and associations invited to the deliberations took advantage of the opportunity to state publicly their aspirations and plans, or their difficulties and concerns. Some of them left the hall before the deliberations were over, and here we question the reason for such an attitude. The answer may come during the Ciechanow voivodship governor's working meeting with the heads of organizations and associations, which is planned for the very near future.

The plenum passed a resolution setting directional tasks taking into consideration the various aspects of creative activation serving to make life in society more democratic. For example, there was a proposal to create an initiative bank, which would be a plane for exchanging views and opinions, would serve as a source of inspiration for the activity of social organizations and associations, and would provide the possibility of appointing candidates to serve social and economic functions and take an active part in the work of self-government and self-management groups at various levels.

Andrzej Czyz, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Department, attended the plenum deliberations.

#### **Elblag: 'Conservatism' Rejected**

26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
26 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Elblag—Political Reflection and Economic Boldness"]

[Excerpts] The results of party efforts helping to structure socialist public awareness and working people's active attitudes in favor of the reform have not been uniform up until now. It is the conviction of members of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Elblag, who met on 24 September at a plenary session that the results are still unsatisfactory. [passage omitted]

Sociological research conducted prior to the plenum on representative social groups reflecting the voivodship's population showed that the socialist awareness of party members differs to as great a degree as that of other parts of the region's population outside the party. It is based largely on material premises. Dissatisfaction, growing apathy and pessimism, a lack of certainty about tomorrow and beyond, and a disinclination toward volunteer activities are tied in with the worsening market situation and galloping inflation. The blame is placed on economic reform which is going too slowly and is not being carried out properly.

Ryszard Szkolnicki, chairman of the PRON Voivodship Council, thinks that it will be possible to help change people's attitudes to more active ones by a continued process of reforming the party's system of operation and eliminating from its activity everything that its members and the society consider to be conservative, to be hampering progress, or to be promoting bureaucracy. [passage omitted]

Boleslaw Smagala, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Elblag, chaired the plenum.

**Kielce: Self-Management Stressed**  
26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Wiacek: "Kielce—Employee Councils Forge Management Personnel"]

[Excerpts] On 29 September, the PZPR Voivodship Committee held its plenum to discuss the role of the workers' self-management of state enterprises and cooperative self-management in the process of socializing the economic changes implied by the second stage of the economic reform and the tasks of the Seventh and Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenums, as they relate to party organizations and echelons.

In Kielce Voivodship, employee self-management groups have sprung up everywhere they are not prohibited by law. Prior to the plenum, the voivodship committee conducted a survey among employee council chairmen and among workers. The results are interesting. For example, the role of the technical and economic personnel in the work of the self-management bodies, especially the employees' council, received favorable ratings. The suggestion to the plant party organization was that it see the self-management group as a way to implement the party's personnel policy. [passage omitted]

During the discussion people stated that the greatest threat to the idea of self-management in the workplace lies in the weaknesses of the employee councils. [passage omitted] People pointed out that the self-management groups do not take full advantage of their authority to monitor and oversee operations. This weakness is expressed, for example, in overly tolerant assessments of the way management carries out its tasks, to the point where the enterprise directors frequently hide their mistakes from that very self-management group. The PZPR plant committees should therefore take a greater interest in these matters. A special way of approaching the structure of prices and wage policy in enterprises has been noted, an approach which does not coincide with economic ratios. [passage omitted]

The voivodship committee plenum adopted a resolution calling for further improvement in employee self-management activity and in the role that the plant party organizations play in this process.

**Wroclaw: Youth Groups Discussed**  
26000125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
30 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Czeslaw Kubasik: "Wroclaw—Youth the Opportunity To Reform the State"]

[Excerpts] The effectiveness of our policy towards the younger generation depends first of all on progress and results in reforming the state's economic and sociopolitical system. This is a necessary condition, but greater activity on the part of young people who are willing and able to commit themselves to the processes of the reform is also essential. [passage omitted] according to Janusz Pawlikowski, secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. This notion came up in his address and in the discussion at the plenary meeting of the voivodship party echelon, held in Wroclaw on 29 September. The plenum's theme was the implementation of the Tenth PZPR Congress' provisions regarding youth.

Youth workplace representatives, pupils and college students, members of youth organizations, and other young people were invited to the discussion. During the discussion, party organizations' youth work and the activity of the youth unions, such as ZSMP, received a good deal of criticism.

Andrzej Durbas, chairman of the voivodship administration of ZSMP, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, said: "Last year 550 ZSMP members were accepted as candidates for party membership, but we must not be satisfied with this fact. The party organizations have no programs for working with young people." [passage omitted]

Another opinion expressed concerned the informal youth movements in operation which provide parallel or alternative programs to those of existing youth organizations, and the fact that many of them have grown out of genuine needs of youth, while others have developed in the anticipation of eventually receiving legal status.

All youth movements promoting moral and social development will be supported, regardless of the origins of the movements or the backgrounds of their organizers and members.

Zdzislaw Balicki, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chaired the plenum. Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Political Organization Department; Marek Jozefiak, chairman of the ZSP Supreme Council; and Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of ZSMP's main board, were among the other participants.

## Association Bill Drafters Discuss Text, Delegate Differences

### 'Catholic' Delegate's Views

26000159 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 42, 15 Oct 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Wieslaw Chrzanowski, professor, Catholic University of Lublin, by Stanislaw Podemski: "The Freedom To Associate Pleases Me;" date and place not given]

[Text] [Boxed item: For several years at least, various social groups have been clamoring for a new law on associations. The PRON Congress, the "Consensus" dialogue group, Catholic intelligentsia clubs, party echelons and oppositionist groups have spoken out in favor of this. On occasion, both the old law that is more than a half-century old and its practical application have been criticized.

Because of the institutional-political nature of this law, both persons trusted by the authorities and by the church have been invited to develop the new version of this law. In this way, a draft law has come into being that takes into consideration the rights of both parties. Obviously, this did not take place without differences of opinion. In the related articles that follow, the two sides in these discussions and efforts present the scope of the law, the reasons for its development and the justifications for it. A high-level official from the MSW represents the state and a KUL [Lublin Catholic University] law professor and former Solidarity adviser represents the church.]

[*POLITYKA*] As I read the 48 items of the draft law that you have co-authored, I find much to be happy about. I am pleased with the clarity of language and principles, the limits on supervision by the administration, the courts' guarantee of the freedom to associate, and the avoidance of various pitfalls found in the 1932 law for those wishing to establish associations. Are you equally pleased with the draft law?

[Prof Chrzanowski] Yes and no. Obviously, I am happy that the freedom to associate has been expressed clearly in the draft law, that this has been secured by judicial guarantees and that Poland's legislation has been brought up to the international standards outlined in the agreements it ratified over 11 years ago. On the other hand, we did not come to an agreement on the fine points of many issues, leaving differences of opinion between our team and the representatives of the state authorities in a number of places in the draft law. It is these very details that can determine the operation of the general value—the freedom of association.

[*POLITYKA*] Let us take a look at these details.

[Prof Chrzanowski] A properly endowed and swiftly and competently functioning court is the best guarantor that an association will be created without disposable

remains and that it will not be disbanded without serious cause (eg., the flagrant and persistent violation of a law or statute by the association). Provisionally, the following is being proposed to us: the court will have three months to register an association. If it does not do so during this period, those awaiting registration will suffer no legal consequences. It will be wonderful for the growth of social initiative that is so important during torporous times to make people wait for months to be registered, and everyone knows that the waiting period in the courts is growing longer and longer. That is why according to our variant, in the event that the court does not hand down a ruling in three months time, an association may become active, but does not assume a legal identity until it becomes registered. Nor should academic associations be deprived of the right of judicial registration merely because this was the case six years ago under the law on higher schools (a law that underwent rapid change). A student is a citizen like anyone else and cannot be discriminated against under the law. To be truthful: rectors are all different and placing the law on registration in their hands, or placing the law on Polish-wide associations in the hands of the minister of national education, which is what the other side wishes, does not yield the guarantees that we need.

Let us go further. We would like the dissolution of an association, truly the ultimate step, to take place via a civil suit and not a so-called nonlitigious procedure. This also applies to the use of other coercive measures—eg., repealing the resolutions of association authorities. There is an important distinction between the civil suit and the nonlitigious procedure. In the first instance, a single judge can decide about the fate of the association, while in the second instance there must always be a hearing by a panel of three judges. Moreover, judicial registration departments have a specific character: their proper domain is to study documents. In the civil proceeding, on the other hand, the most weighty cases are scrutinized, i.e., those involving the protection of honor, the dissolution of such associations as trading companies and cooperatives, rights of authorship and major property suits. As you can see, this is not an academic discussion, but a fight over the real embodiment of the principles as declared.

As for the proposal that the association supervisory board should continue the past practice of suspending association boards for a 14-day period, this is a misconception that evokes very negative links to the past. Our opinion is that in a proceeding to disband an association, the court could first designate a deadline to its authorities by which time irregularities must be eliminated and then, if this did not produce any results, measures would be taken to prohibit association activity if necessary. These are merely a few, but not all, of the differences in opinion on so-called procedural issues.

[*POLITYKA*] In the procedure for registering an association, you do not desire the presence of a representative of the supervisory office. Why not?



[Prof Chrzanowski] Why should he be present? Registration amounts to evaluating the compliance of the association statute with the law. Under our legal system, such an assessment is the court's exclusive domain. In practice, the participation of the supervisory office would allow it to block the registration of an association (eg., by appealing such a decision in the Supreme Court). This means delaying activity for many months and frequently it serves to discourage social activism. Besides, the public prosecutor may take part in any judicial proceeding, including such a proceeding. Nor is the participation of a third party besides the founders and the court stipulated in the laws on the creation of trade unions, cooperatives or trading companies. Supervision only makes sense when the organization to be supervised has been formed.

[POLITYKA] Why do you demand the withdrawal of the category of higher service associations and refuse to accept the exclusivity of certain associations in restricted social spheres? In practice, what we are really talking about is the one and only ZHP and respecting its many years of a strong tradition of this exclusivity.

[Prof Chrzanowski] We would be reconciled to retaining such a category of associations. If such a formality makes someone happy, why cross him? But our opponents propose the following: "The Council of State may grant a higher-service association the privilege of exclusive operation in a given sphere." This is a loophole that, under certain circumstances, can turn into a thoroughfare. In the past, this issue did not apply to a single association. We respect good traditions, but we would not like to revert to bad ones. We are merely in favor of the equality of the rights of those joining together in an association and opposed to monopolies.

[POLITYKA] You defend equal rights for all, but at the same time you want to leave the so-called ordinary associations without judicial protection!

[Prof Chrzanowski] Forgive me, that is a misconception. We are opposed to the governmental proposal to liquidate this form of association. At the same time, we demand that they be guaranteed the judicial protection to which they are not entitled at present. The so-called ordinary associations have been active in Poland and in many other countries for decades. For a small association, a legal identity frequently can be a ball and chain. Moreover, the complex registration procedure associated in our legal system with the granting of this identity has been avoided. Today it is enough to inform the administrative element that an association has been created and to begin working, with the sole reservation that the office does not prohibit activity within four weeks (at present, this cannot be appealed even in the Supreme Administrative Court). For this reason we propose that within a four week period, the supervisory office could appeal to the court to prohibit the activity of an association (eg., charging that the agreement creating it is in conflict with the legal order).

[POLITYKA] You demand the rights of farmers to associate according to the principles outlined in the draft law. Here Professor Orłowska, representing the other side, offers substantive counter-arguments.

[Prof Chrzanowski] Half of the country cannot be deprived of the possibility of creating socioprofessional associations of their own choice, in anticipation of some sort of legislative changes unspecified as to time. (Socioprofessional associations are vital for farmers). A significant portion of rural Poland rejects today's monopolistic forms of association imposed by the 8 October 1982 law on farmers' socioprofessional organizations. By the way, please note the date that this law was passed. It was created under martial law!

[POLITYKA] Your adversaries are very much opposed to the proposal legally prohibiting any sort of discrimination related to belonging or not belonging to a given association. They make the charge that this regulation proposed by you is vague and legally defective. What is your reaction to this?

[Prof Chrzanowski] Yes, the regulation is a general one, but everybody knows what it refers to and what experiences created the need for it. It is supposed to indicate that the indirect restriction of the citizen's right of free association is not tolerated. Also, every court readily comprehends the central issue. On this basis, it is able in a concrete situation to recognize the illegality of a regulation whose status is below that of a law. In practice, this principle can also serve as a warning to plant managers and administrative officials against making discriminatory decisions.

[POLITYKA] To what extent do your proposals have the official acceptance of church authorities?

[Prof Chrzanowski] As you know, none of us are clergymen or plenipotentiaries of the church authorities. We are citizens in whom the Episcopate has placed its trust. It has proposed us to the government as spokespersons and it has recognized that what we shall propose will meet the expectations and hopes of society.

[POLITYKA] Thank you for the interview.

#### **'Party' Delegate's Views**

26000159 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 42, 15 Oct 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Janina Orłowska, director, Organizational-Legal Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, by Stanisław Podemski: "We Are Not Deciding Anything"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text]

[POLITYKA] The draft law written by the six of you (three representatives of the authorities and three from



church-affiliated groups) is a phenomenal piece of legislation. It took three months to create and it regulates issues that affect the entire system. It contains only a single authorization to issue executive regulations. Clearly, however, everything is possible if one wants it and knows how to get it.

[Orlowska] The authors of the draft law were compelled by the urgent need for the new regulation of association affairs. As you know, public opinion criticized the old regulations and voiced a series of recommendations and proposals to be included in the new regulations.

[POLITYKA] Let us move on from compliments to charges. Differences of opinion have arisen between the co-authors, who represent various views and groups. These have dictated two proposed solutions for many (15) items. I admit that I do not understand the resistance that you show on many issues in your rejection of the other side's position.

[Orlowska] In creating the new law on associations, which is the concretization of the freedom of association guaranteed by the Constitution, we had in mind the experience of a half-century of activity of more than 2,000 associations that banded together with about 18,000,000 members. I would like to stress that on fundamental issues regarding the freedom of association and the definition of the basic characteristics of an association as well as the forms of legalization and supervision, our views concur. The differences of opinion refer to issues of lesser importance that are nonetheless significant for the legal regulation in our estimation.

I do not agree that the differences in views that have arisen are to be called a form of resistance. Both sides have presented well-founded arguments on these issues that have unfortunately failed to convince the other side. This is why we have agreed upon variant proposals on such issues. In deciding upon this type of presentation of specific issues, we also wished to enable the offering of a choice in future discussion. We are not deciding anything in this draft law. Its final content will be determined by the government and then the Sejm and public opinion as well, since all indications are that it will be subjected to broad public opinion.

[POLITYKA] The independent court is to determine everything of prime importance to the association—its creation, statute, dissolution, the suspension of its board and the repeal of a resolution of the authorities. I congratulate you for such unity of views. The court is given three months for registration. If this deadline is not met, then what? The other side proposes that an association could then begin some sort of preliminary work even without the court's decision in order to bring it to a decision.

[Orlowska] The concept of coercing the court to act in this way is not in keeping with our legal system. The code, as well as other regulations, have granted the courts far-reaching confidence. To effect a breach in this system

for associations is not justified, since it would mean that in this one case, the legislator would be motivated from the outset by mistrust of the court's intentions. We cannot agree to such a violation of the court's prestige. Moreover, such a solution would bear negative consequences in the sphere of the so-called legal trade. It is not merely a question of allowing many people to act who may not be legally authorized to do so (this is something for the court to decide); it is also a question of a number of important legal and financial issues.

[POLITYKA] That is all true, but you know very well that legal instructions regarding deadlines are ignored across the board in the courts and in offices alike. This even applies to the most sacred ones, eg., cases examining employee conflicts in labor courts. It is easy to see that there will be a waiting line at the registration court during the initial period, particularly since you also want the voivodship court and not the regional court to conduct the registration. Add to this the notion that the Supreme Court must examine an appeal against a court decision, and registration may take a year or longer. Thank you very much for such a procedure!

[Orlowska] I understand that you are proposing that in registering associations, work would be organized in the courts to prevent unnecessary delays. This is obvious. However, it is not the task of the law on associations to streamline the work of the courts.

[POLITYKA] Why are you so quick in your proposals to suspend an association board that takes a course opposed by the authorities? This can be done by the supervisory board (true, only for two weeks) without waiting for the court's verdict. Society has had its experiences in this area and does not commend such haste. If the court must do everything, let it do this as well.

[Orlowska] The church side has also discerned that the possibility should be created for the immediate suspension of a board in absolutely exceptional cases, i.e., when the violation of the law is so glaring that it requires immediate counteraction. It is not an indiscretion for me to state that the suggestion of the church side to grant the court the right of immediate suspension of an association board through the use of a so-called security measure (as in civil law) was examined. However, we recognized that this would be an overly complicated procedure. Hence our provisional proposal for immediate suspension of the board by administrative decision for a period not exceeding two weeks, after which time only the court may determine the further fate of the board.

I am not aware of cases of the use of such measures by the administration in the past, unless you mean decisions made under martial law, when the majority of associations were suspended.

[POLITYKA] Why should small groups of people who wish to discuss or even act, but without the desire to create a larger organization with a legal identity, bookkeeping

and an administrative apparatus also be subjected to a court registration procedure? In the past, the so-called ordinary associations (local in nature) were not registered anywhere and were merely announced to the administrative authorities. Why can this not remain as it is? This is the question asked by the opposition and by me as well.

[Orlowska] This form of association did not develop fully over 50 years of being in practice. This is borne out by the fact that at present, only 54 such associations exist, banding together about 800 persons.

Our analyses show that the primary reason for the unpopularity of this form of association was the lack of a legal identity, which is indispensable for the proper operation of groups of people in today's systems of the organization of social life. We cannot be blind to the negative experience issuing from the operation of the law on associations now in effect. The variant proposed by the state side is open to the creation of terms enabling people to want to form associations even in small groups (of five people and up) and to facilitate the formation of these associations for acting on issues of a local nature.

[POLITYKA] One of the principles in the existing legislation and in practice that is most under attack is also the failure to allow new associations to be created out of the fear of breaking the monopoly of those currently in existence. In the present law this is known as "social service" and it apparently forbids the increase of associations. The draft law departs from this, but by the back door, to a limited degree; however, it ushers in exclusivity for so-called higher-service associations. Moreover, the lawyers authorized by the church question the need for the existence of such associations that are already privileged in name.

[Orlowska] In reality, under the current law on associations, an association could be denied registration because it did not perform a so-called social service. This was a highly valued criterion that has been departed from in the draft under discussion. As for higher-service associations, many such associations with millions of members have been in operation in Poland for 50 years. These include the Polish Scout Union, the Union of Disabled Veterans and the Society of Children's Friends. Apparently, the social justification for freeing them of their basically titular nature is lacking. This is particularly the case because in contrast to ordinary associations, this form of association has developed fully. One cannot allow the new law to cancel out such a rich social heritage.

The issue of the exclusivity of higher-service associations in specific spheres has been given a bad name unnecessarily, in my opinion. To date, such exclusivity was granted only in one case—that of the ZHP (the use of special scout methods of training). Thus, it cannot be said that the authorities, by granting the right of exclusivity, will prevent other associations from working in the same, or related, spheres. Moreover, please note that

according to the proposed regulation, the decision on the matter of granting prospective exclusivity is to be made by the Council of State, i.e., the emanation of the Sejm.

[POLITYKA] Then will a second association for journalists, writers or actors be able to be created?

[Orlowska] If our proposals are adopted and the court finds no legal hindrances, then why not?

[POLITYKA] Why do you not want the draft law to contain a regulation allowing for the creation of socioprofessional organizations in rural areas? The discontent of farmers, caused in part by the violation of income parity between the rural and urban population, is well known. You take another step in the direction of once again worsening the already bad mood of the farm community.

[Orlowska] The draft law regulates the legal existence of associations, guaranteeing the freedom of association to all citizens. It does not introduce any group or territorial distinctions. Likewise, a significant number of associations is in operation in rural areas under the present law.

Neither the present law nor the proposed law defines the tasks or the goals for whose implementation citizens may enter into an association. The definition of these goals, tasks and forms of operation for associations is up to its members. It is contained in the association's statute. On the other hand, the law on socioprofessional organizations of farmers stipulates that the association of rural residents in forms stipulated by this law takes place for specific purposes. These include: the economic development of the rural area, an increase in production, an increase in the status of the farming profession and an improvement in the living and working conditions of the rural population. Thus, it may be said in general that the 1982 law defines the legal existence of agricultural organizations and associations of a subbranch nature.

Given this situation, it is not necessary to substantiate the fact that the draft law on associations, which is of a universal nature, will also be in effect with regard to the rural community.

[POLITYKA] You make certain exceptions, for academic associations. To be specific, you propose a return to the solutions offered by the 1982 law on higher education (which portion was promptly repealed), but this is 1988 and not 1982.

[Orlowska] Both in Poland and in other countries, an academic society is governed by regulations in effect from within the institution that take into account the specific character of this community. Because of this, we have proposed a return to the solutions in effect in the law on higher education that was in effect until 1985. In the estimation of the state side, this should enable the free development of the association movement in the student community, without subjecting it to judicial and

administrative control, as is the case for other associations in the draft law. Hence the proposal for granting these powers to rectors and the minister of national education.

[POLITYKA] But what if the rector or the minister refuses? These are administrative echelons. Why do you deprive students of the right of judicial protection? Or perhaps they will be able to appeal a decision of the minister or rector to the Supreme Administrative Court?

[Orlowska] That is a matter for consideration. One cannot rule out a different, better solution to this issue achieved through discussion on the draft law.

[POLITYKA] The other side favors the inclusion of the principle: no one may be discriminated against for belonging or not belonging somewhere. They cite examples warranting such a safety valve. The chairman of the Catholic Intelligentsia Club was fired from his position in a higher school because the rector held that his association activity was in conflict with the secular nature of the institution. In another example, artists who do not belong to their union do not have the right to take leaves to pursue their vocations. We must force tolerance by law if necessary, but you are opposed to this.

[Orlowska] It is difficult to structure legal regulations on the basis of individual, negative instances. I also believe, for example, that the wholesale carryover of the regulations of the law on trade unions (regarding, as you stated, the elimination of discriminatory practices) is an abortive attempt.

In the law on trade unions, the regulation protecting a trade union member in the work environment is fully justified. On the other hand, on the basis of the law on associations, which encompasses enormous areas of social life, it would be merely a declaration of good will, devoid of the possibility of practical implementation.

Perhaps it would be equally beneficial to include a formula that would guard against additional consequences emanating from membership in an association.

[POLITYKA] Thank you for the interview.

#### **Wilczek on Economic Health, Energy Issues, Taxes, Unions**

26000227 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 48, 26 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Minister of Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek by Andrzej Mozolowski: "Take Your Fate Into Your Hands"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[POLITYKA] A proposed law on undertaking economic activity, commonly called the law on entrepreneurship,

is being taken up by the Sejm. People, at least many people, expect a great deal from it.

[Wilczek] And this is still not enough. It is a historic breakthrough. Not everyone among those who know the proposal realizes, all of them do not have enough imagination to comprehend, the far-reaching consequences flowing from the contents of this law, if, obviously, it is adopted by the Sejm, which, however, I do not doubt. This is a return to the Polish road to prosperity from the first postwar years, from which unfortunately we departed so quickly into the wastelands of a Stalinist economy.

[POLITYKA] I would not dare to correct a minister, but desiring to be precise I would note that during the first postwar years there was talk not of a Polish road to prosperity but of a Polish road to socialism.

[Wilczek] Can I help it if I have always associated socialism with prosperity? That's bad? That ought to be the point, right? But let us return to today. We want to have a three-sector model, all with equal rights, and let them develop! There is to be no decision that this one up to 8 percent, and that one up to 14 percent. And what will happen in 10 years? I do not know, and may no one attempt to regulate it. We shall see. I know it will be good.

[POLITYKA] To be sure, the proposal goes very far. No one will need a permit; neither a merchant, nor a craftsman, nor a cooperative, nor an enterprise. One simply reports to the local office that you are starting a business, and the office must complete the registration within at least two weeks. That is all there is.

[Wilczek] More: undertaking economic activity by a legal person and also a sideline activity by a physical person, that is a supplementary source of income, for example, the repair and maintenance of mechanized home appliances and farm equipment, folk and artistic crafts, and also trade in unprocessed agricultural goods, such as meat, fruit, etc., providing home-cooked meals, will not require anything at all. No accounting! In some cases, a potential producer, merchant or service provider will have to obtain a concession, but this is the case in 10 types of activity listed in the proposal, for example, the production of explosives or arms, the production of pharmaceuticals, poisonous materials, tobacco and alcohol products, foreign trade, running a pharmacy. This is understandable and surprises no one.

[POLITYKA] But this candidate for an "economic subject" must meet some conditions?

[Wilczek] Simple, the normal ones all over the world: he must meet the conditions in the building code, the sanitary and epidemiology code, the fire code; he must have a place of business.



[POLITYKA] Plowing through these formalities can be a barrier, a time barrier at least, but not just a time barrier.

[Wilczek] I do not think so. Until now this has been the case: but the head of the gmina did not care about it; either he was keeping a place for his son-in-law, or the secretary did not like private business. Now the gminas will have to live on their own budgets; they will need taxes, and antipathies will not be able to be obstacles. Their role will be to help people with ideas, who want to enlarge their capital producing, selling, and providing services. And there are no limits on employment. They can employ as many people as they want.

[POLITYKA] Even 500? Even 1,000?

[Wilczek] Are you already worried?

[POLITYKA] On the contrary, I am glad. But somehow I cannot imagine it.

[Wilczek] Then we agree because I cannot either. You see, creating one job costs a couple of million zloty. Do you see anyone who will invest a couple of billion zloty in building a factory? And what will he build it from? I see things differently: a gradual decline in the little workshops, in which a craftsman produces with his wife and one employee; the growth of middle-size workshops. I see a great future for partnerships with mixed capital, private-state or private-cooperative. If the private partner has 20 percent ownership, he will be a motor that drives the whole business forward. I see large state plants surrounded with hundreds of small private collaborating producers.

[POLITYKA] Perhaps this will finally solve the problem with spare parts, which no minister of any industry has been able to solve over the decades?

[Wilczek] It will solve half of the problem. The second half is caused by poor quality. Does everything in a Polish car have to break down all the time? In every other home, there are two vacuum cleaners; both are broken; so they are out chasing down a third one. Do shovels have to be one-use disposable items? And so on down the line with everything. Do parts to agricultural equipment have to be made from structural steel in order for them to last a week? The stalinist economy has really set us up: do it any old way as long as there is a lot! Only quantity counted. If there were too few wheelbarrows, everyone made wheelbarrows—the "key industries," the cooperatives, the State Agricultural Machine Stations, the army; and these wheelbarrows were only good for the junk pile; no one cared. Now quality will count. And the materials must be suitable. Not like it was with fan belts: a shortage, then let the craftsmen make them, and he makes useless ones because he gets waste rubber, while rubber of the highest quality is needed for this use.

[POLITYKA] But only competition can force quality, but what will force it until there is competition?

[Wilczek] I will force it. I will forbid the production of whatever is faulty. You will see that they respond. Only everyone must care beginning with the director of the plant. And he will if he earns a respectable sum. They should have very good earnings; even twice as much as now; the same goes for the engineer, supervisor, or foreman. As long as they provide quality, profitable production, instead of taking subsidies. And the market will be satisfied, and Minister Wroblewski will be satisfied, and you will not have anything about which to write articles, God willing, amen.

[POLITYKA] Wild optimism spouts forth from you. Do you think that everything will go as you wish?

[Wilczek] If I thought otherwise I would not have let them put me in this chair. I would be blind, however, if I saw no obstacles. The greatest is the formation of a couple of generations of passive people, waiting for the authorities to decide for them, for the state to give them something, anything, as long as it is not necessary to exert themselves. On his own, nobody considers what to do (unless it was what to do in the black market). In this respect, we have a hellishly well-rested nation. I believe, however, that reeducation will occur quickly. It occurs most rapidly abroad; there people begin to think differently and work. We want to create conditions for the same thing to happen in Poland. So that the people themselves think and work themselves, without waiting for someone to do for them. I would like to shout to the whole country: take your fate in your own hands! I see the foundations for this process in the mentioned law, a constitution for economic freedoms, just as your colleague Szeliga saw them; I think that he would be glad, if he had lived to see it.

[POLITYKA] More yet. I think that he would be in heaven. Which, however, does not change the fact that you wish to do great things in industry in a situation in which practically every plant lacks three things: people, materials, and raw materials, plants are operating at half speed, and the state of the economy is just as every one sees.

[Wilczek] The economy is not so bad! How can you talk this way about a country that has so much coal, steel, copper, such an infrastructure! And I do not wish at all for all industry to work at full capacity. This happened once, and we rejoiced that we had exported 700,000 tons of steel, and coke, and hams, and ships—we exported so much, wow. Everyone will get something; stench all over Silesia, the children are sick; the nation is living in poverty due to this happiness. Meanwhile, whatever is weak, crippled, and poisonous, to boot, and further requires support—must be finished off. We have closed the shipyard, we have closed four steelworks, we will close mines. Yes, we will, but those that produce half coal and half rock and cost as much as if they produced diamonds. And for the funds saved, we will give the remaining mines funds for mechanization and automation, for wages; the miners must earn more; and let production fall to 180 million tons in two years, but it

will be pure coal, cheap, from effectively working mines. The same with the steelworks; we can close those because we have the Katowice and Lenin Steelworks. The same with the shipbuilding industry, which is very weak economically; it must be strengthened at the expense of the weakest shipyards. If only they produced whole ships, but they produce only hulls; we import the rest for dollars! And we are to forbid this? Lech Walesa says that together with the employees they want to take over the shipyard. Then each worker would have to pay a million zloty contribution, and in a year without subsidies and reliefs from the budget, they would leave with their bags. The whole thing would come crashing down.

I have probably answered your question clearly: we have enough people, raw materials, and materials. We only need to take them from people who are wasting them and give them to those who bring the economy real profits.

[POLITYKA] You have forgotten electric power. Here we are facing another threshold.

[Wilczek] Precisely: soon we will have to increase the production of electric power per capita—three times. But how should it be done, or how should a fuel conservation program be carried out, if we subsidize every kilowatt with 20 zloty! Coal must be more expensive! And then suddenly it will turn out that the work of the miner is very profitable; only the indices, as a result of the system of prices and subsidies were falsified. The prices for fuels must be raised 100 percent; subsidies ended; rationing ended; everything must be turned over from its head onto its feet; and I will add a billion zloty to the budget for Minister Wroblewski. I hear such foolish things: if you raise the price of coal 60 percent, what will you do about the price of meat? People will not tolerate such increases! As if pork chops were made of coal. An increase in the price of coal by 60 percent is equivalent to an increase in the price of meat by 3 percent, no more, because that is the proportion of coal in the costs of producing a slaughter hog.

For the long term: we will have to base our electric power on nuclear power. I know there will be protests. The Greens all over the world are protesting, for example, in France, but France draws 70 percent of its power from nuclear power! We do not have a single one yet. But they are already protesting in Poland. If the bishop writes me, and he has, that he is against it, I am prepared to understand him: he is an honorable man, he wants good, but he does not know anything about nuclear power. But when engineers write such nonsense, then I do not need such engineers. We must decide: either to live like people with nuclear power like the civilized world or back to the caves and bows and arrows! But in Poland, everyone wants to have a color television, but without nuclear power, because it's dangerous, and we ought to close the mines because they are damaging the environment and Silesia is caving in.

[POLITYKA] Summarizing your argument so far: what will it actually give us?

[Wilczek] All this will give us a mass of small producers and a large amount of goods for the market, and it will begin in the next year. It will take a great deal of money out of the market because the enterprises and the people will invest. Ah, I have not mentioned that the proposed law assumes that the basis for taxation will be reduced by 75 percent of the expenditures for investment. The inflationary overhang is shallow; the market will calm down, and prices, too. Social attitudes will change. When the stores are full and the pockets are empty, it will pay people to earn more; today it pays no one.

[POLITYKA] Nevertheless, the whole concept of stimulating industry, more properly the entire economy, requires enormous resources. Meanwhile, neither the enterprises, nor the craftsmen have nothing to invest for development: profit, even depreciation consumes their budgets. Your conception is based on a significant reduction of the tax burden; in fact, the discussed proposed law even makes the point more precise at one point, which has rarely happened before, and leaves no room for maneuver for the minister of finance (I am thinking of the 75 percent tax relief for investments), whereas the tax philosophy of the minister of finance is the reverse; it is based on maintaining undiminished burdens, because there is a hole in the budget; there is no way to reduce its income; we have here a problem discussed in this issue of POLITYKA. How do you resolve it?

[Wilczek] There is nothing to resolve here. Those of us in the government will come to an agreement among ourselves. You can relax. And where will we get the money? We must cut the subsidies! Taxes are not the goal of the economy, but an instrument for controlling the proper behavior of enterprises and individual citizens; this is the point of the economic authority of the state. What distinguishes the domestic policies of the presidents of the United States? One thing: raising or lowering taxes. But in Poland, the system takes from whoever has too much in order to keep him from developing and gives to whoever has nothing so that he does not go bankrupt, although he should. I understand Minister Wroblewski very well, and I think that we will come to an agreement. He too does not want to subsidize either housing or electric power, because then the state (in other words, society, whose money it is anyhow?) makes unmerited presents to the owners of housing, all the greater, the larger the apartment someone has and the more power he uses. For what reason should the owner of a five-room apartment or house receive five times as much as a person who is stewing in a small single room with a kitchen?

[POLITYKA] In one way or another, the cuts in subsidies must finally appear on the market in the form of higher prices.

[Wilczek] Who told you that? If we eliminate the subject subsidies, then at most the producer will do himself in and go bankrupt, and this is how it should be. If we liquidate price subsidies in an industry saturated with goods, there the price level is established by demand. If

then I raise the price of coal, neither carrots nor other vegetables nor apples, nor gerberas will increase in price, because people will not pay more. They will go to whoever produces effectively and maintains the lower price. And since here and there things will genuinely cost more, it will be necessary to compensate people fully with higher wages, but not the same for everyone, but according to the value of their work.

[POLITYKA] The trade unions will protest in any case.

[Wilczek] That is the purpose of trade unions. And also to watch the government and make sure the average wage rises with the average prices. But how these wages will develop in particular plants will depend on their performance and the government and the unions should stay out.

[POLITYKA] In any case, Solidarity will strike.

[Wilczek] Precisely, in any case. Whether the prices go up 20 percent or 5 percent, they will strike; they have already announced strikes for the spring. So be it. We will survive. They are striking all over the world, governments somehow withstand it. And after a month-long strike, the money in the fund ends when the plant falls into a deficit, then in the end we will close it. And people will think; in any case, they have wised up; recently, they have learned a great deal. You see, one cannot govern with fear, but the worst thing is for those in government to be afraid. This government is not afraid.

I think that saving the economy requires the saving of the financial situation of each productive person who works in a productive, unsubsidized enterprise, who is not drawing from the pot of social welfare. And for this worker in, let us say, the agricultural machinery industry to have really good earnings, his machines must be good, durable, productive, not made from just anything, thus they have to be expensive. And the farmer should be rich in order to be able to buy the machinery. The whole philosophy, surely not new, lies in people enriching themselves. The system, on the other hand, will make sure that this individual aggrandizement enriches the whole economy, the whole nation.

[POLITYKA] Thank you for your comments.

**Scouting: Independent, Patriotic Traditions,  
Church Support Defended**

26000169 Warsaw LAD in Polish  
No 43, 23 Oct 88 pp 1, 10

[Interview with Dr Stanislaw Broniewski, Orsza scout-master and leader, Szare Szeregi [Gray Ranks, an operational underground scouting organization (1939-45) attached to the Main Headquarters of the Home Army, charged with carrying out minor sabotage, diversion] by Janusz Zablocki; place and date not given]

[Text]

[LAD] I would like to make the subject of our interview the present state of the scouting movement in Poland. We

would like to see it in the light of the difficult situation in which Polish society finds itself, replete with signs of the continuing crisis and the threatening collapse, in the young generation, of faith in its own strength and the loss of its hope. We would also like to see this movement in relation to its own basic values, i.e., to confront its present reality with those ideals which it originally embraced. It happens that 31 October is the 100th anniversary of the birth of Andrzej Malkowski, who is reputed to be the founder of Polish scouting. This gives us reason to look back at the sources of the movement...

[Broniewski] It is very good that in your introduction you used the term "movement." This is a term which I once tried to explain in reference to scouting. It clarifies and broadens the subject of our interview, prevents it from becoming enmeshed in organizational matters and preserves its very essence. A movement is an element which grips people as a result of accumulated past experience and present needs; this organization is basically the creation of this movement; it arose from faith in the movement itself and in the desire that it spread. But sometimes an organization perverts a movement and ceases to be it.

From the time that it was formed, i.e., over 75 years ago, Polish scouting was and is a movement. This time span alone shows its importance and the uncommonness of the phenomenon. According to the distinguished expert on this subject, Aleksander Kaminski, it is easy to note that the number 75 years many times exceeds the time of functioning of other youth organizations, even their groups if one were to want to look for some common features of some of them. In any case, the uncommonness of the phenomenon indicates that not only the number of years, but also the character of these years, which included two world wars and in some cases shocking social (e.g., decolonization), technical (e.g., nuclear weapons), and natural (e.g., threat to the natural environment, including air, water, soil) upheavals. The scouting movement survived all of this, and was always this same movement. After all, that that has roots is always alive—indeed, it constantly renews itself.

Andrzej and Olga Malkowski—the name Malkowski is linked to the heart of the scouting movement; it is its symbol. Polish scouting is scouting plus independence! If by scouting we mean the protest, which arose at the turn of the century, against the consumer "urban" style of living and a protest against the detachment of man from nature, which alone is able to give him physical and mental health, then we know immediately that scouting plus independence, that ideals and the entire upbringing system built upon this—with fulfilled, in truth, service to God, the Fatherland, with fellow-man at the lead—lives, and is why this is immutably this same movement.

[LAD]—([censored material] (Law dated 31 July 1981 on control of publications and performances, Art 2 pt 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended: 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 104)). How justified



are the anxious voices which say that genuineness in scouting has disappeared, which say that it is departing from the upbringing ideals which it embraced when it was formed by Andrzej and Olga Malkowski, and which it tried to cultivate during the period between the wars and later during the occupation?

[Broniewski] The organization which bore the scouting name was not always the faithful child of the movement. It was that during the struggle for independence, it was that during the beautiful but short period of independence, and it was that during the defense of this independence in the Second World War. After the war a basic change occurred. [censored material] [Law dated 31 July 1981 on control of publications and performances, Art 2, pt 6 (Dziennik Ustaw No 20, item 99, amended: 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. Yet every good scouting instructor knows that the scouting upbringing system, which is made up of a specific idea, a specific method, and a specific program, is so delicate an instrument that it is sufficient to change, either through recklessness or ill will, one element in any part of the entire system, to change its character. It would then not be the same movement.

[LAD] In light of this, how can the resistance of the movement itself to these deformations and dangers, its internal forces of ideological resistance in defense of the genuineness of scouting ideals, be assessed?

[Broniewski] This political postwar blow, which came during the Stalinist period, met with resistance. The resistance was inherent in the elemental strength of the movement, and in the first postwar years was enhanced, as in all of society, by a hunger for the joy of creating, which grew during the war, and the live and fresh legend of the "Gray Ranks." That is why deformation of the movement did not go easily for its authors and some overzealous executors, despite the fact that there was no shrinking from use of the letter which libeled scouting and the Polish scouting movement, under which the emissary of the security forces Kazimierz K. collected signatures of distinguished scout leaders. Today it is not a matter of the signatures, obtained under duress. Today we should rather mention those who, despite everything, courageously said "no!" (including the deceased A. Kaminski and W. Opechowska), and those who, misled by bad advice, signed and later had it on their conscience throughout their whole lives (J.K.). And we have to take a position on those people who at one time, especially in those early days when the situation did not appear to be clear, did wrong to the movement. We should not replace God in passing sentence unless the person involved provokes such a sentence by later regarding these wrongs cavalierly and overconfidently. And there are such people in scouting.

Regardless of the overzealous people, the resistance persisted. And pressure also persisted. The only thing which this pressure was able to fully achieve is to destroy the old fraternal atmosphere of the organization and sow distrust, slander and gossip.

In this contaminated atmosphere the healthy tissues of the organization, the tissues of the real movement, although slowly dying, defended themselves. The history of the entire last 44 years of this movement is the history of the heavy struggles of the element with the official distortions. During these years there was a particularly difficult period (1949-56) when it seemed that the movement had been repulsed, that it was dying and would no longer rise again. And yet political conditions which developed in October 1956 were responsible for the fact that the movement, which lived subcutaneously for at least 7 years, sometimes only vegetating, appeared in full force. Years later, in analyzing the 1956 upheaval, we explained to ourselves that too little time had elapsed since the last free action, that the same cadre was living, the same youth—less young, it is true, but that it was still youth.

The following period of deformation (1959 and later) was even more worrisome because we were distancing ourselves more and more from everything which had previously been free, all the way up to 1949. That is why our joy was so great when in 1980, when a crack of freedom again appeared, a healthy movement immediately rammed itself into it. Despite the fact that again over 20 new years had elapsed; despite the fact that basically this was a new cadre; despite the fact that this was already a different youth. This explosion of the element is undoubtedly the best testimony for the movement and its constant timeliness.

This time the wave for the first time raised the question whether the movement must struggle within the framework of the organizational structures which deform it, or whether it can abandon them as useless props of a bad past and leave.

[LAD] We are approaching, it seems, the question which is often discussed today: Is a return to the ideological and methodological roots of the movement in the current state of affairs within the framework of the organizational structures of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) or does it inevitably require a break with membership in this organization—the seeking of a place for itself outside of it?

[Broniewski] Many of the youth wanted then and still want to leave the organization and set up its own (!) structures. But it seemed to me, and still seems to me—with complete understanding and respect for this natural impulse—that this is not the way. First, what was and is important is this enormous, over 2 million, mass of youth which ZHP has assembled. The departure of those who feel a real movement, who are this movement, would leave in the organization a formless mass of youth without examples, without models. It would leave a mass that would really, as the experience of past years teaches, not be transformed into cohesive groups believing in some kind of foreign, to us, totalistic idea, a bad idea because it would surely not be possible to do this with our youth. But it would leave a passive, apathetic,

egoistic mass, susceptible to the influence of all kinds of evil. Precisely a mass. The principles of the movement do not permit this kind of legacy, and therefore, do not permit us to leave.

We are reminded of the "M" campaign conducted by the "Gray Ranks" during the Second World War. It consisted of the exertion of influence by individual members of the organization on the unorganized youth. This not only helped, extended a hand, and brought up this unorganized youth, it also expressed a social, brotherly stance in the ranks of the activist youth. So, for this reason, there should be no leaving the organization.

However, there is still another reason for not leaving. The scouting method in many situations demands special external forms: a uniform, an insignia, the use of a large group of youth for certain drills or games, equipment... These things require an organization. [censored material] [Law dated 31 July 1981 on control of publications and performances, Art 2 pt 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended: 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

[LAD] I am wondering to what degree youth, in its seeking the genuineness of the scouting movement in overcoming its deformation and threats to it, can be helped by outside factors. I am referring primarily to the Church. The interest of the Church in scouting work is something relatively new. John Paul II gave it impetus in his Jasna Gora speech to youth on 18 June 1983, when he reminded that the slogan "Be Prepared" is deeply rooted in the gospel and probably passed from the gospel into the traditions of the scouting movement. "Be Prepared," said the Holy Father, means that "I am trying to be a person of conscience. That I do not stifle the voice of this conscience and do not distort it. I say plainly what is good and try to correct and overcome what is evil in me." It is particularly good, it seems, that the Church is emphasizing the importance of work on oneself, which, in addition to service and brotherhood, is one of the three main ideas of the scouting movement, which today in the practical work of scouting has been almost completely abandoned. The pope calls: "You must make demands of yourself, even if others make no demands of you."

[Broniewski] Fortunately we are not alone. The scouting movement is a vital part of society. This society cannot leave it in solitude. It must make demands of it, just as it must demand that health be restored to the Polish school. It is our task, therefore, to inform society about the matter. To point out the gravity of the matter.

With us also is the Church, which through its pastoral assistance embraces the live tissues of the movement which are struggling with adversity, which sates us with its profound substance, which through this substance creates a soil for a true, and not verbal, patriotism. The Holy Father's last two pilgrimages, in particular, with their beautiful "White Service" (information assistance,

disabled persons care, sanitation service, disciplinary service), became an area of cooperation with the ministry. Another such area was the funeral of Home Army major Jan Piwnik "Ponury" in the Holy Cross Hills, again with thousands of members of the scout movement in the most active sectors. That was and is the truth.

Finally, history is with us. And in it the so warmly absorbed history nearest to our hearts, the history of the "Gray Ranks." History has already done much in adding strength to the movement. But this seed must fall on the soil while there is still grain in the sower's canvas, while the sower is alive, while he still has strength. This is an enormous duty for the oldest members of the scout movement.

Thus, we are not alone on this front. And the front is important. It is the youth that matters. Year after year the youth are exposed to the matters being discussed. In scouting, approximately every 5 years there is a complete turnover in membership. The cadre remains, which perhaps more slowly but nevertheless is replaced and should be replaced, because after all, this is a movement of youth. In 5 years our youth will stand at the most important front. It is they, and not some unknown future, which will bring Poland out of the economic catastrophe. It is that youth which will defend it on the brink of ecological disaster. It is that youth which even now is struggling to prevent the spilling of Polish blood, to prevent strong young Poles from emigrating, or from losing hope, about which some new Wyspianski will have to appeal to their hearts, so that they will "want to want."

[LAD] It is understandable that scouting upbringing proposals could not arouse enthusiasm in those who were then the architects of a new, beautiful society, who then would not have considered them. The person who scouting wanted to rear was supposed to be a person of service, but at the service of moral values, and not at the service of every order issued by his superiors; a person whose driving force is in himself, and this driving force is a sense of duty cultivated in him along with the cultivation of his conscience, and not a person remotely controlled by the orders and supervision of those above him. In a word, a person who looks at people as individuals and not as objects. Unquestionably, this did not coincide with the expectations of the "central planner," who, consumed by faith in his own wisdom and omnipotence, expected that all of the directives that he issued would be complied with. The question arises, therefore, whether today, after seeing the bitter fruits of this "central planning" in the world of things and people, as utopian illusions as to the possibility of setting up a successful political system without the participation of the person himself are abandoned, has the time not come to reconsider the former pedagogical biases, has the time not come for an open recognition of the upbringing ideals of scouting, to say loudly that the example of an independent person turns out to be particularly important for the times at hand.

[Broniewski] We do not denigrate the matter of the roundtable, but we want to warn that if a packet of our matters does not lie on it, then in 5 years we will be in the same place, except that the soil under our feet will soften, except that the water will be disturbingly higher. And after all, from our position of observation and struggle, all of this could be seen 5 years ago, and even long before that. The matters are serious. Of the social, of the political matters, these are the most important of all. They must be honestly stated. There is no longer time for diplomacy. Our "blank spaces" must also be shown. Therefore, although we are not at that roundtable, our matters lie on it. In any case, they should.

[LAD] Thank you kindly for the interview.

## YUGOSLAVIA

**Status Quo Persists After 17th LCY CC Plenum**  
28000043 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian  
8 Nov 88 pp 10-12

[Article by Dr Slaven Letica: "The End of the Seductive Ease of Wielding Power"]

[Text] There are several possible approaches which in theory can be taken to analyzing the discourse of the 17th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee (here the term "discourse" covers everything that was written, uttered, and voted on in that meeting). There is no doubt whatsoever that study of that discourse would justify the effort and resources invested by any sociolinguist, political scientist, anthropologist (concerned with political culture), or other scientist. Unfortunately, the public reception of that meeting in mass psychology is limited mainly to the final "score," the vote of confidence in members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. That reception of the meeting is partially determined by the way in which it was conveyed by the media (restrained satisfaction in the "West" because of the outcome of the vote, which in the "East" was constantly presented by the media as an anti-Serb reprisal and conspiracy through that forum), and partly by the dominant pattern of our mass political culture.

That political culture only appears to be irrational and archaic. It is in fact rational, since it was shaped to conform to the prevailing political practice, which very often has limited the content of politics to naked force and robbery (weekend cottages, feasts, hunts, etc.), unproductive work through forums, and one-way political communications: from the forum through the party rank and file to the passive masses. Just as Yugoslavia has utterly failed to establish modern, postrevolutionary, peacetime, and professional political activity (government administration)—which is usually defined as efficient and effective activity in the conduct of public business (definition of the goals of development, settlement of social conflicts, and resolution of social and

developmental problems)—so it has also failed to develop a modern political culture: pluralistic, critical, two-way, productive, and tolerant.

### The Legality of Violence

The reduction of politics to permanent class struggle and ideological struggle through forum rhetoric, to a kind of ideological-political enterprise on the one hand and utterly irresponsible reformist experimentation on the other (in 40 years the political elite initiated about 60 reforms of the Constitution, the economy, the educational system, the health system, and so on). The people was slowly turned into a politically apathetic mass which expected from the forums only the final results of "their struggle" and new findings from the political laboratory on what road we are currently traveling toward the bright future. Only recently has that "mass" been seeking unselective political abdications. In such a model of "politics," the central role is allotted to "the enemy," since the existence of real or fictitious enemies becomes a basic condition and purpose of politics. The "enemy" provides the political elite with legitimacy and legalizes its right to violence (rhetorical or administrative). Not so long ago I stated publicly that enemies were so precious to our politics that it pays to finance them. The purpose of the constant reforms on the other hand was to give the appearance of very rapid development of the "productive forces and production relations"; and also, of course, the appearance that "sociopolitical workers" and the forums were enterprising and industrious.

At a time when the crisis has demystified once and for all the dogma that our political and economic system is superior and the thesis that there is genius in the leadership and management of the political revolutionaries (its genius had been confirmed by our "reputation in the world"), space has been opened for radical critical reception of the results of the "work" of forum politics. Forum politics has responded to that critical reception in the worst possible way: it has increased many times over the number and length of meetings. Some forums have abandoned the practice of annual vacations; meetings go on for days; work is done (meetings are conducted) at night. Or as Svetozar Stojanovic (as a former victim of political enterprise) wittily put it, not without maliciousness: "The seductive ease of wielding power in Yugoslavia has now come to an end." (School of Political Science, Zagreb University, 13 October 1988)

If for purposes of analysis we place the discourse of the 17th meeting in that broader social context, then the apt labels and descriptions applied to that meeting, such as: "Suvar:Milosevic = 1:0"; "The minimum of the maximum"; "A small step forward"; "Unity"; "A coalition not based on principle"; "Anti-Serb policy," and so on, do not mean as much as they did. And Igor Bavcar's witty idea takes on importance: "It was not until the 17th meeting that it became clear that nothing is clear" ("Youth Radio 101," Zagreb, 29 October 1988, about 1200 hours). That, then, is our intention, using the



"distance in time" of 1 month—too long for a newspaperman, too little for a historian, but just right for a sociologist and economist—we will attempt to answer two rhetorical questions. First: To what measure has the meeting opened space for changing the unproductive pattern of political work and political culture that has been sketched? Second: Did the meeting increase the social power of reformist or antireform forces and alliances-coalitions?

As for the content and procedural aspect of the meeting, two new elements have equal importance: the television coverage (which certainly contributed to further demystification of politics) and its 3-day length (which took the effectiveness of work in meetings back to the early fifties in Yugoslavia or the late eighties in Cuba). But as far as the possible transformation of the monistic, monopolistic, and monologue political culture to a pluralistic political competition based on dialogue, there was nothing new. The institutional purpose of the effort was defined at the outset as a search for "unity," not legalization and analysis of the plurality (interest-oriented, intellectual, and political) of differences.

The apparent paradox that the basic elements of the new Serbian policy are becoming legalized (mainly the progressive nature of the assemblies and meetings and the demand for what is referred to as an equal republic), while its protagonists are losing in secret ballots, is quite logical in that political scenario, which is a bit Machiavellian. Perhaps the answer to the question of why a pluralistic culture is so alien and repulsive to our political elite should be found in the absence of two basic prerequisites for creation of that kind of culture: experience and knowledge.

#### **Ignorance and Inexperience**

The speeches of Tupurkovski, Mikulic, Milosevic, and Hafner, which have already become anecdotal, are the best indication of that ignorance and inexperience.

By his statement that "One republic has lost, and an unscrupulous coalition has won," Vasil Tupurkovski best demonstrated the unfamiliarity with the ABC's of coalition politics. That is, nowhere is any coalition based on scruples and principles, but rather they are based on momentary (ad hoc) or lasting common interests. In the particular case, there is no question that we are dealing with a specific political coalition which R. Dahrendorf has called a quasi-coalition; that is, to quote him, a "collectivity of individuals bound together by identical latent interests, but without any formal connection whatsoever." It was obviously a question of an ad hoc coalition for a particular situation, a coalition which took Dusan Ckrebic as a metaphor of a politics which desires to alter the constitutional order with instruments of political coercion, a state of emergency, pressure, and violence. Following the successful "bonapartist coup" (to use Eugen Fuscic's phrase, vague as it is) whereby the leadership of the Vojvodina party was taken over, and

the less successful coup against the Montenegrin leadership, the spontaneous formation of this kind of "unscrupulous coalition" was more than logical.

By stating how he marked his own ballot and by saying that he was certain that "the comrades would have voted differently" had they been able to imagine the outcome of the vote, Branko Mikulic confirmed the absolute illiteracy as to any kind of democratic practice. Along with an exceptional literacy as to political self-protection, that statement probably postponed the questioning of the accountability of his government, which this time was initiated by the "East."

By not recognizing that the vote was a defeat, Slobodan Milosevic confirmed how utterly alien to him is any culture of (political) defeat, as he unconvincingly insisted that his opponents were the losers.

Finally, Vinko Hafner, as the English newspapers wittily noted, forgot the golden rule of democratic political culture: do not give moral lectures to an opponent who has lost.

All in all, nothing new occurred in political practice and culture following the 17th meeting. If that meeting has any concealed potential as to political culture, then it is concealed exclusively in the person and the speech of Branko Greganovic, Yugoslav youth president (chairman of the Federal Council of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia), and in the circumstances in which the emergence of such individuals is possible. Here, those circumstances are just as important as the individual himself. The practice of tolerance (if not yet encouragement) of political competition (individuals and programs) which Slovenia has been obstinately practicing in recent years (against the opposition of the rest of Yugoslavia) has already yielded its first results in Greganovic, Sukle, Bavcar, and others like them. The prince-regent system of political leadership that is practiced today by Serbia, or the strictly controlled system of political "competition" (of individuals, but not of programs) which Croatia uses, impress one as being utterly anachronistic and unproductive. The rest of Yugoslavia will probably never be able to make up the great comparative advantage which Slovenia will gain over the next few years in the quality and professionalism of its young politicians unless it urgently (!) opens up a "unified Yugoslav market for political ideas, programs...individuals." To conclude: The superiority of the "Kucan model" over the hypothetical "Suvar model" and the superarticulated "Milosevic model" of post-Tito politics can be seen as a whole in the political vocabulary and manner of Branko Greganovic. If, then, one can speak at all about the real and moral losers and winners at the 17th meeting, then a scheme of categories can be easily drawn from the logic of the previous sentence.

But as for the fate of the "losers" (Ckrebic—the metaphor, and Milosevic—the paradigm), they need not worry. In all traditional cultures, in the Balkans particularly, losers enjoy particular respect and protection.

The example of Ckrebic's new image in the solidarity assemblies and in the mass media (NIN, DUGA, POLITIKA, and elsewhere) convincingly demonstrates this.

At one time a defeat on the battlefield was a certain way of getting into regimental myths and legends: today it seems that a defeat in a vote taken in the LCY Central Committee can be enough to have one's name honored in banners carried by demonstrators. What is more, the "western" media war against the new Serbian politics (which, as our study has shown, is authoritarian, populist, majorocratic, but not democratic, ethnocentric, traditionalistic, non-Bolshevik, and the like—see DANAS, No 348, 18 October 1988) will drop off in intensity precisely because of the new element inserted by the loss. Finally, Milosevic himself will have to make a critical analysis of the concept of his own politics within the obvious "coalitional encirclement," which only an unreasonable politician could label as being anti-Serbian.

#### Four Orientations

How are we to answer our other and more important rhetorical question: "Did the 17th meeting augment the social power of reformist or antireform forces and alliances-coalitions?" In politically structured societies, that is, in societies in which the ideological orthodoxy defines the meaning and content of politics, and then that kind of "politics" determines the content and meaning of economic life—and that is the way Yugoslav society is—there are several prerequisites for any type of social change. In order of importance they are: first, effective political will and competent political guidance (leadership); second, mobilization of the masses or motivation of the population; third, resources or implementation (funds, money, technology); and fourth, a real or formal social, institutional, or personal vehicle of the changes—a party, a class, a leadership.

The 17th meeting could not possibly have furnished all those prerequisites. But it was able to strengthen the reform coalition. Did it do so? In a formal sense it did, since so-called unity was achieved on the "commitment" to the famous three reforms (of the economy, of the Constitution, and of the party). In a real sense? That is difficult to say since the most ardent "reformers" in the meeting were dogmatists representing the agreed politics and the agreed economy, critics of crisisology, protagonists of the most ridiculous and melancholy experiments at reform. In a word: all those who understand that in politics it is considerably more important to be right (and in the majority) at the moment than to be consistent and guided by principle.

Behind that "unity in favor of reform" the meeting ultimately proffered four basic types of global political orientations in the Yugoslav party elite.

This is the first orientation: economic liberalism + political pluralism. It is premised upon the thesis that economic competition cannot be achieved as a deliberate and effective system unless there exists political competition: symbolically and spatially this orientation is associated with Kucan and Slovenia, which certainly is not empirically accurate, since that is only the most evident orientation "there."

The second orientation is this: economic liberalism + political conservatism. It tends toward development of a market economy, combined with retention of all the basic elements of the party state and politics (dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism, the one-party system, etc.); symbolically and spatially this orientation is associated with Milosevic and Serbia.

The third orientation is this: the status quo + a balance of fear. It desires to retain all the so-called basic principles of the political and economic system (the delegate system, the vanguard status of the LC, free exchange of labor, and so on, and so forth) along with "radical" reform of its "derived" forms; symbolically, this orientation is best linked today with the figures of Suvar and Mikulic.

The fourth orientation is this: economic conservatism + political conservatism. It calls for return to the original socialist principles of socialist collectivism (radical egalitarianism, planning, dictatorship of the proletariat, permanent class struggle, and the like).

The four ideal types (in Weber's sense) of political orientation were present during the entire 17th meeting, implicitly, of course. There were also two hovering coalitions, of the military and of young people, which mainly inclined toward the status quo in that meeting. "Unity" as the political ideal/goal of the meeting could be achieved only around the third orientation (the status quo), and even then under the condition that it accept a portion of the demands of the first ("Kucan's") and the second ("Milosevic's").

The victory of this orientation unfortunately means a growth of social power for the ideological entrepreneurs, who will very soon insist on a return to the practice of constant ideological debates and settlement through arbitration. It is a consoling fact that the modular structure of our political system still belongs to the "Kucan" orientation and affords a certain autonomy of initiatives and actions.

As to the potential or "capital" for future social change, the situation is still less favorable. In politically structured societies, it has usually been considered a bourgeois deviation or even counterrevolutionary skulduggery to raise the question in public of the costs and benefits of social reforms. Nevertheless, today one can make the observation that the total costs of our many reforms have exceeded the benefits many times over. And that many of them have guaranteed only harm. In

40 years, Yugoslavia has attempted to carry out about 60 reforms: 5 reforms of the Constitution, 13 reforms of the economic system, some 20 reforms of current economic policy, 5 reforms of the educational system, 8 reforms of the health service and health insurance, and some 10 or so other reforms (of the party, the trade unions, the government administration, etc.). Some of those reforms had large social "capital" at their disposition. The reforms today hardly have any "capital" whatsoever.

Merely for the sake of instructive illustration we will present our own estimates of the "capital" of the two last global reforms: of the economic and social reform (1961-1965-1970) and of the constitutional reform (1972-80).

The economic and social reform had several sources of "capital": domestic accumulation, foreign credits and remittances in foreign exchange from abroad, and reduced pressure for creation of jobs because about 700,000 Yugoslavs emigrated. The foreign exchange segment of the "capital" of that reform alone amounted to about \$25 billion over those 9 years.

The 1972-80 constitutional reform had at its disposition the gross sum of some \$50 billion in foreign exchange remittances from Yugoslav workers and some \$40 billion of foreign credits: that is, some \$90 billion, not including domestic accumulation.

The reforms which are now being prepared (of the Constitution, of the economic system, of the economic structure, and so on) can count only on negative reform "capital," because of repayment of the foreign debts and the zero

accumulation of our economy, along with the mere \$5-10 billion of new foreign credits over some 10 years or so.

Given the absence of physical resources, the "absence" of intellectual resources and of developmental motivation of the population will figure as an essential limit on social changes that might guarantee modernization of the government and of the economy. I once visited China and was told by scientists there that the "intellectual vacuum" created by the cultural revolution (which physically or professionally destroyed millions of leading Chinese scientists, managers, and intellectuals) is today the main problem of all reforms and modernizations. Ideological arbitration and the screening of our scientists and intellectuals as to fitness were never so radical as in the case of the cultural revolution, but it is an indisputable fact that the various custodians of "our ideological front" have permanently removed many people with enviable intellectual potential from any involvement in research, social analysis and criticism, and intellectual creativity in general.

The opening up of space for political competition in Slovenia and the practice of ideological deregulation in Croatia (that is, the practice whereby political forums do not interfere in editorial, scientific, and research policy) demonstrate which directions are productive in seeking a "way out of the crisis." The resolutions of forums, the meetings going on for several days (especially when carried over the media, so that great numbers of people do not work, since they are involved in fruitless political debates), and the other "vigorous moves" merely prolong and deepen the crisis. Especially since the protagonists of the reform initiatives would have to be the ideologues of our cultural revolutions which were not meant to be.



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**Economic Reform 'Accelerated' To Start in 1990**  
24000026a Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
15 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by Igor Sirota: "Economic Reform a Year Earlier. Press Conference on CSSR Government Policy Statement"]

[Text] Prague (From Our Reporter)—Government policy is not to slow down the restructuring of the economic mechanism, but to speed up its complete implementation by one year. In my view this statement by Pavel Hrivnak, first vice chairman of the CSSR Government and chairman of the State Commission on R&D and Investment Development, delivered at a press conference on Monday in Prague, is convincing proof of our attitude to restructuring.

Hrivnak also discussed the main tasks included in the CSSR Government Policy Statement. The government is focusing its attention on the complete implementation of economic restructuring, fulfilling the plan, developing conditions to improve consumer goods inventories, and social issues. The government plans to initiate structural changes to facilitate the intensification of our economy, and to improve cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA countries.

Comrade P. Hrivnak emphasized that the driving force and main objective of the efforts of the new government is to improve the working and living conditions of our people.

Bohumil Urban, first vice chairman of the CSSR Government and chairman of the State Planning Commission, informed those attending the conference of the status of economic reform efforts. He stated that currently we are in the preparation stage, with changes being made in a number of laws and legal regulations. At the same time real world experiments are taking place in approximately 25 percent of all firms to test the new management regulations. Concurrently the organization of the center is being changed to a two-level management structure. Upcoming years will involve the first stages in the implementation of economic reform. In an attempt to allow firms to operate as soon as possible in the new environment the government has decided to accelerate the restructuring program by a year. This will enable us to make the transitional period, when certain directive forms of management will still be necessary, as short as possible. The decisive restructuring regulations will take effect on 1 January 1990.

Jaromir Matejka, deputy minister and secretary of the government Commission for Issues of Planned National Economic Management stated that shortening the transition period to the new mechanism is a feasible, but demanding objective. It leaves the center with a year and a half to make full preparations for fundamental and complete restructuring.

When asked whether the government is planning to use market mechanisms, comrade Matejka replied that market mechanisms will be used to the extent that they do not have a negative social impact. The government is most concerned, he said, that the people be content.

Miloslav Boda, minister of labor and social affairs, stated that this is the reason the government has already adopted two measures aimed at increasing pensions, and is preparing an additional step aimed at assuring that pensions will keep pace with the cost of living. At the same time he noted that we must manage much more effectively the resources allocated to health care, social programs, and other areas.

Draft laws and changes to other legal standards relate to the interests and needs of citizens. Minister Marian Calfa stated that as of 1 January, after passage by the CSSR Federal Assembly, an updated Labor Code will take effect, and that work is proceeding on a law covering labor force reallocation. Intensive work is proceeding on a youth law, in conjunction with work on the new constitution. Consideration is being given to conducting a public discussion next year on a law covering small business activity.

It will be possible to strengthen the social infrastructure available to our citizens only if we succeed in generating more resources. It is therefore essential to accelerate the transition to intensive management techniques.

B. Urban informed those attending the press conference that the range of goods produced by our economy represents 70-75 percent of the range of goods produced worldwide. However, Czechoslovakia cannot produce everything, but should focus instead on producing fewer goods of higher quality. In the middle of next year the government will hold discussions on initial proposals for structural changes to our economy that will be implemented in the future. The government must decide which areas to support and which areas to cut back. Specific steps along these lines must be taken in metallurgy, engineering, power generation, and in other sectors.

In response to a question concerning inventory problems in the domestic economy Jan Stejskal, minister of finance, stated that we have not been successful in reducing them. On the contrary, in the first nine months of 1988 inventories increased by Kcs 13 billion. Industry and construction saw the greatest increases. The main factor in reducing inventories will have to be economic pressure, including material incentives.

B. Urban responded to a question from a French journalist (AFP Press Agency) regarding potential changes in the CSSR political system. He stated that the National Front, which merges political parties and interest groups under the leadership of the CPCZ, is the foundation for the development of democracy in our country, and an expression of socialist pluralism. Urban continued that

the National Front is considered an open system for all activities that are in line with constitutional provisions, and that the government is willing to cooperate with anyone who wants to help within this framework.

**Czechs Reject Hungarian 'Speculations'  
on Gabčíkovo Dam**  
*24000053a Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
26 Nov 88 p 3*

[Article by Oldrich Zabožník: "The Danube Water Project in the Eyes of Specialists—Facts Against Speculation"]

[Text] Thus far, perhaps no other large investment project in our country has created so much public interest as has the construction of a set of waterworks on the Danube River. Every water management project represents a palpable incursion into the natural environment in which it is located. This is also the case here—which no one denies. In conjunction with the water management project at Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros, however, the most varied speculations of domestic and foreign origin have appeared a number of times because of the public interest. Consequently, we welcomed the invitation to meet with specialists at Dunajská Streda, a meeting arranged by the editors of the Bratislava daily PRAVDA and by okres organizations. The objective of the meeting was to confront the speculations with facts and to provide the general public with the most complete information regarding the multilateral contributions of this project, as well as the necessary measures which it has brought about.

The following individuals participated in the meeting: Koloman Dudas, member of the Presidium of the KSS Central Committee and leading secretary of the KSS okres committee at Dunajská Streda; academician Juraj Hrásko, director of the Research Center for Soil Fertility of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; academician Ludovít Weismann, director of the Center of Biological-Ecological Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; Jan Benetín, corresponding member of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of Hydrology and Hydraulics of the Center of Geological Sciences Research of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; Eng Emil Fulajtar, candidate of sciences, scientific worker of the Research Center for Soil Fertility of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; Eng Oto Misut, candidate of sciences, scientific employee of the Research Institute of Water Management at Bratislava; Eng Julius Binder, deputy chief designer and deputy enterprise director of the Hydroconsult Enterprise in Bratislava; Stefan Csibrey, deputy chairman of the okres national committee at Dunajská Streda; Eng Jozef Canady, employee of the Ministry of Forestry and Water Management and of the Wood Processing Industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic; Prof Ľubor Cunderlik, PhD, deputy chairman of the

Central Committee of the Slovak Association of Protectors of Nature and the Countryside; Eng Pavol Frolkovic, deputy minister of the interior and of the environment of the Slovak Socialist Republic; and Maria Penteková, secretary of the okres committee of the Association of Protectors of Nature at Dunajská Streda.

From the extensive discussion, we publish here at least the main thoughts:

*Dudas:* The construction of the water project at Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros on the Danube River and its influence upon the surrounding environment is the center of attention of the wide public here and abroad. At that, some favor the water management project and others condemn it or even literally abuse it for political goals aimed against socialism. We are handling the problems of construction systematically. Understandably, even we in the ranks of the okres national committee or in the Presidium of the KSS okres committee quite frequently have differing views regarding the same problems, but we always make the effort to find realistic points of departure.

*Csibrey:* In the okres of Dunajská Streda are found 37 percent of the national reserves of potable water. Protection of these sources is our primary task and that is why we are counting on further construction of wastewater purification and sewerage facilities. The set of water management projects at Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros has a direct impact on the entire okres and undoubtedly expressly influences its further development. Apart from improving navigation conditions, the obtaining of inexpensive energy, and protecting the territory against floods, we see its contribution also in the further industrialization of the okres. However, the water management project also brings about great changes in the life of citizens in adjacent communities. As far as the ecological impact of the project is concerned, we must primarily rebuild the sewage system in the okres so as to operate even before the water management projects become operational. An additional important task is the cleaning of the riverbed of the Malý Dunaj River, which is used to irrigate a total of 40,000 hectares of land, although the cleanliness of its waters does not meet agricultural requirements. We are very much interested in the fate of the lowland forests. We would like to hear the specialists present tell us how we should go about preserving them.

*Penteková:* Construction of the water management project impacts on six protected territories which have not been damaged mechanically; however, bird life and the lives of protected types of animals in this territory have been disrupted by construction activity. We believe that, after conclusion of construction, the conditions for the continued life of these species will adjust themselves. The change in the level of subterranean water will primarily impact on the moisture-loving flora. In assuring a water supply for agricultural purposes, it will also be necessary to deliver it to the protected territories. What is involved here is the continued life of the

swampy forests. And this is possible provided the water diversion portion of the Hrusov-Dynakilita Dam is prepared on time. It will make possible the regular flooding of protected territories which should not encounter major problems involving vegetation and the water regimen.

*Binder:* Many of us who have met here lived through the floods of 1965. At that time, our national economy suffered damage valued at at least Kcs 6 billion. Data from the Hungarian People's Republic about the floods of 1954 remind us that the Hungarian economy suffered damages valued at 14 billion forints. If we consider only these two facts, then we can see that protecting Zitny Ostrov Island is the primary task of the project. In the 1960's and 1970's, much time was spent considering which of the alternatives to decide on—whether the river alternative or a channeling alternative should be used. The most advantageous proved to be the proposal for an intake channel. After all, it is important to protect this territory not only against floods, but also to protect the drinking water supplies lying beneath it. For purposes of protecting subterranean waters, it was unavoidable to create a corridor—something we achieved by building a canal, which will channel off 4,000 m<sup>3</sup> of water. Nothing was approached or is being approached as if it were previously completed, but everything was being solved and is being solved with extraordinary conscientiousness in research institutes and design organizations. The only ecological solution for the territory on Zitny Ostrov Island is such a one as is provided by the current system of water management projects. Without extraordinary measures involving existing dams, we can protect the entire territory against flooding on our side, as well as on the Hungarian side.

A second and no less important question is navigation. Ships are the cheapest, cleanest, and most advantageous form of transportation. Nobody is protesting against the construction of superhighways which are detrimental to the environment. Against the improvement of navigation conditions on the Danube River, however, quite a few "specialists" raise voices of protest.

A third question involves energy. We dealt with it in great detail. In view of world prices, we calculated that, after subtracting the costs of protecting the territory and protecting navigation, the system of water management projects would pay for itself in terms of energy in not quite 4 years! Given the anticipated life expectancy of the water management project of 55 years, we would have to, at current world prices, pay approximately Kcs 100 billion foreign exchange for petroleum during this period. To tell the truth regarding the energy efficiency is simple, provided, however, that someone wishes to weigh the entire question objectively and impartially.

And what about ecology? The system of water management projects on the Danube River can be proclaimed to be the most ecological construction in the entire republic. Someone could object—after all, you took up 2,700

hectares of forestland. If we wanted to obtain the same quantity of energy from a thermal electric power plant which the Danube River "produces" on an average during the year, we would end up burning the oxygen produced by 280,000 hectares of forestland.

We do not claim that the system of water management projects will not make anything worse. We would be demagogues if we did. However, we hold in our hands the entire system of Danube River arms. We will create such an environment for the swampy forests and for all of life in them on all of the territory between Hungary and our dam which will be optimal. The conditions created in the swampy forests will be substantially better than they are today.

*Weismann:* Our entire sector and the common Czechoslovak-Hungarian sector of the Danube River, together with the Danube delta, are the most valuable sectors of this river from the standpoint of ecology as well as from the standpoint of natural values. As far as the flora, the fauna, and the limnology are concerned, this territory is the most studied of all parts of Slovakia.

Biology and ecology have sufficient scientific data at their disposal to be able to propose effective biological-technological measures with the goal of limiting any negative influences which can be anticipated as a result of this project to a minimum. Of course, it is important for these proposals to be accepted, for them to become parts of the technical solution, and for them not to remain outside of, or be excluded from, the design preparations. We would like to augment nature even in territories which are not directly impacted by the project, but which are adjacent to it. We have worked out a study for the solution of biological-ecological conditions for the upper dam. We came to an agreement with technicians regarding the creation of conditions in the territory from Bratislava in the direction of the Rusov Arm. From the ecological standpoint, the entire area lends itself to shaping very nicely and to gaining an interesting and esthetically suitable recreational area for the Petržalka region. However, we are distressed to see very little accomplished thus far with regard to the 13 proposed measures.

*Benetin:* We should primarily become aware of the fact that every comprehensively solved water management project can be considered to be an ecological project. Only in the event some component of the comprehensive solution becomes undervalued can there be consequences leading to major damage.

As far as the territory between the derivational channel and the old Danube River riverbed is concerned, we have created a special mathematical model in our institute, with the aid of which we are able to simulate the water conditions and the development of the water regime in the swampy forests. We can, thus, gradually, by individual days, model the development of water conditions in the swampy forests from the beginning



through the end of the vegetative period, in dependence upon the weather. During the 30-year period from 1951 through 1981, we found out how often and during which seasons it is necessary to flood this area in order to save the swampy forests and to create still better conditions for them than those that exist now. What is important, however, is for this entire system to be ready on time—something the comrades from the Hydroconsult Enterprise have, unfortunately, not spoken about. There must not ensue a time gap between the activation of the water management project and the operation of this entire system. Should the system not function, even for a single vegetative period, and should there be unfavorable weather, it would mean that the swampy forests would be endangered and, in one year, could die. We know how to solve all of these questions; however, it is necessary for that that we are talking about, for that that we are solving on paper, and for that that we are finding final solutions, to be actually brought to life. I underscore—this must happen not at the beginning of operations of the Gabčíkovo Hydroelectric Power Plant, but at the beginning of the time when the Hrusov-Dunakilita Dam starts to raise the water level behind it. In this direction, we should accomplish everything that is necessary.

*Hrasko:* The ecological consequences of water conditions upon the Zitny Ostrov Island began to be debated approximately 10 years ago; in this regard, it is not possible to pull out certain manifestations from the entire context of things lest those who began building the drainage ditches on the Zitny Ostrov Island were condemned. Some 300 to 350 years ago, the Zitny Ostrov Island did not exist. There was only a collection of swamps and riverbeds. The deeper parts which we see on the island are former riverbeds. There were even peat bogs here and, apart from the most highly developed core at the center of the island, there were no inhabitable areas. What is then negative and what is positive? Consequently, it is necessary to look at the entire incursion into the existing structure because we consider the present status to be most positive and declare it to be optimal—something that, however, need not always be true. It is true that the way we adapt the Zitny Ostrov Island is the way it will look. We are privy to many findings which guarantee that in building water management projects on the Danube River we will not commit any kind of ecological lapses. Anyone who claims that the set of water management projects will bring about an ecological catastrophe is the same type of demagogue as he who says that nothing will happen.

For the present, we are not yet able to say with precision at what level the underground waters will settle. However, we are recommending a certain operational monitoring so that we could find out very rapidly what will happen with the waters. If we know this, then we can ascertain what will happen to the soils, the countryside, as well as the swampy forests. It can be anticipated that the swampy forests will exist not only in the vicinity of the Danube River, but, once the level of groundwater rises, they will occur at some locations even in the interior of the area.

If we shall have monitoring, then I am convinced that we shall safeguard even ecological matters. And it will be far cheaper for us to have this in hand now in comparison to what it would cost later, if things were to be wrenched out of our hands.

*Fulajtar:* A few words on the problem of underground water mineralization. Together with the State Water Management Administration, we have determined that, in the area of the set of water management projects, underground waters have mineralized in substantially greater areas than had been known hitherto. Also, the content of sodium in these waters is higher than we anticipated or than was provided by older data. It is anticipated, primarily in the lower portion of the Zitny Ostrov Island, that the level of groundwater will rise at least by 50 or 100 cm and that in this region there will thus be increased danger of salt contamination. It is necessary to do everything now to make the groundwater level manageable so that we would not have to resort to subsequent expensive investments.

*Canady:* The ministry, together with the Danube River Watershed and the Vah River Watershed, worked out a proposal for expanding the network of canals with the object of increasing the capacity of pumping stations. We thus assure an increase in the rate of flow in the canals. The Ministry of Forestry and Water Management and the Wood Processing Industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic has issued a decision on the preservation of meadowland forests and has included a project calling for the construction of a water catchment project and a canal for flooding the system of river arms into the set of water management projects to be constructed on the Danube River. A second step is the decision that construction of the barrier dams is to be handled by the Danube Watershed Enterprise within the framework of its construction capacities. This is connected with the preservation of the swampy forests, which we consider to be the decisive action in maintaining the ecological balance in the territory under question. As far as monitoring of the territory is concerned, the solution of this problem cannot tolerate any delay. It is necessary to include in it also the Slovak Commission for Planning and for Scientific-Technical Development which does not always adequately comprehend that it is necessary to expend funds immediately from the standpoint of long-term goals.

*Frolkovic:* We need not convince ourselves of the advantages of the water management projects or even of the possibilities for solving the above-mentioned problems. But I am familiar with a number of different proposals and counterproposals. Recently—let us not conceal this, I beg you—there appeared the Danube Challenge. It is reportedly signed by 600 people who oppose conclusion of the water management project and, possibly, also suggest limiting the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros project. I personally favor the view which has been expressed here by academician Weismann. The problems are soluble, we know how to solve them, and we must solve them.

Naturally, we cannot preserve nature in the area of the water management projects in the same manner as it has existed thus far. In the final analysis, the question of the environment does not revolve around maintaining the existing status, but represents a question of a certain coordinated coexistence between man and nature. From all data and information about the water management project, it is evident that we know how things will be solved. However, it is necessary to provide more convincing responses to such questions as whether we can afford it and when something will be solved and who will be responsible for solving it. Recently, the government debated information touching on the solution of ecological problems of the water management project within the framework of the bioproject worked out by the Slovak Academy of Sciences and approved by Government Resolution No 58, dated 1974. Consequently, I am surprised by the contention of the signatories of the Danube Challenge that the Academy of Sciences was already then opposed to the set of water management projects on the Danube River. This is misleading the public because the ecological problems connected with this construction are being solved with the full participation of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and of other scientific and research facilities in a responsible manner from the very onset. The error lies in the fact that we have provided little information for the public regarding these developments. Thus, it is correct for our public to have, so to speak, first-hand credible information at its disposal which will not be at variance from the facts.

*Weismann:* A few words on water purification facilities. It must be openly said that even before the construction of this water management project, the waters of the Danube were being polluted. And this would continue even if the project were not being built. In an effort to prevent contamination, a program was adopted to protect the cleanliness of waters which will be accelerated by the construction of the set of water management projects on the Danube River, rather than achieving the opposite effect. Similarly, it is not true that the water management project caused farmers on the left bank of the Danube River to lose Kcs 4 billion. Under the guise of protecting nature, these claims are being made by some opponents of the project. I do not know from whence they get such data. These are demagogic claims regarding a question, the solution of which, and even its discussion, requires a certain volume of knowledge. He who does not have this knowledge can be readily manipulated. That is why the numbers which are being published in conjunction with the set of water management projects in the press, on the radio, and on television should always be cited along with the institution which worked them out and which provided them.

*Misut:* When we were concerned with the concept of utilizing groundwater for drinking water, the greatest bugaboo regarding quality was petroleum. After construction of the purification station at the Slovnaft Enterprise, the situation changed so that the Danube, in the sector below the mouth of the wastewater outflow from the combine has

the quality of a flow customary for water supply stations when it comes to petroleum substances. We also never conceived of utilizing groundwater supplies as utilizing static resources. We were limited in this regard by agriculture which needs to maintain the level of groundwater. We can only draw so much water from it without lowering the groundwater level. Because the predominant majority of groundwater must be obtained from the Danube River, the quality of water in the river was always of prime concern. The kind of water which infiltrates our ground will be the kind of water we will be utilizing. We, thus, have an eminent interest in having the waters of the Danube River be pure. In the predominant part of the territory in which the groundwater level will be influenced by the construction project, the problem will involve lowering the groundwater levels by 1 meter. If we take the accuracy of prognoses into account, as well as the fact that we can lower or raise the level of subterranean waters with the aid of a network of canals, only a smaller portion of territory—roughly one-fifth of it—remains where we might be forced to undertake corrections of groundwater levels.

*Canady:* In connection with the construction of wastewater purification plants, the Ministry of Forestry and Water Management and the Wood Processing Industry of the SSR recently repeatedly brought up the question of the cleanliness of the Morava River. I can say that we were never successful in agreeing with representatives of the CSR on a program of wastewater purification plant construction on the Morava River. And this would have been substantially manifested even in terms of the overall cleanliness of the waters of the Danube River.

*Cunderlik:* Questions surrounding the water management project have caused considerable commotion, particularly in recent times. This is so because the broad public did not have adequate information at its disposal. The need for wider information will continue even in the period during which the water projects are to be completed and even after initiation of operations. This is also true, without fail, of the activities engaged in by the Association of Protectors of Nature. Consequently, it is topical to ask the question how the okres involved is prepared for the given tasks that face it. I believe that there are certain gaps here. In conjunction with our mission, which is characterized by the slogan "Recognize and Protect," we are, to a great extent, dependent upon employees of the Academy of Sciences, who are members of our association. Academicians Weismann and Benetin indicated a problem, namely that there is not sufficient tie-in with the general designer. This gives rise to a problem in which the interpretation of scientifically justified research and interest in the protection of the environment and of natural values are quite often deliberately set up to oppose social interests. I know that the Academy of Sciences does not provide room for these unsuitable activities, but various activists are misusing the Association of Protectors of Nature and the Countryside to cause sensations. There they seek opportunities to present views which deliberately and wrongly influence the amount of information at the disposal of our citizens.

*Weismann:* All Protectors of Nature in the Academy of Sciences have the opportunity of participating in solving biological-ecological questions; all have the opportunity of expressing themselves. I do not know what influence they have on protecting nature. However, I can responsibly judge that the Protectors of Nature are a biological society because they solve biological questions. This is precisely why, primarily in its Bratislava leadership, there should be biologists rather than geographers.... However, I would not like to make the same mistakes which they have committed in their various "initiatives" and, consequently, I have no desire to make light of their work. I am convinced that the majority of the Protectors of Nature are honest people who truly wish to see the natural values which exist here saved.

### **Lack of Professionalism in Exhibiting Abroad Criticized**

24000053b Prague NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak  
9 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[Article by Oliver Brunovsky: "Let Us Not Throw the Towel in on Our Own..."]

[Text] This year in the fall I traveled for the first time as a journalist to a trade fair abroad. It was the beginning of September and the famous Leipzig Trade Fair was being held. It is traditionally the site for the exhibition of products by product groupings. In general, I was glad to be an observer—a beginner has an easier task at such a concentrated confrontation, he is able to compare readily....

However, when I entered the pavilion in which household items were being exhibited, the advantage changed to a disadvantage. It became rapidly clear to me that our chaps were playing 10th fiddle here. I do not know my way around music too much, but I do know that at a concert the conductor shakes the hand of the first violinist. In the pavilion, well-wishers were going to other stands and so I preferred to go elsewhere, where I supposed that we will stand more securely on our weak export legs.

However, the exposition of glass and porcelain shattered my hopes for a journalistic depiction of a huge success of our people. I was only surprised that I did not also spot a towel behind any of the display cases—the towel with which trainers in boxing communicate to their charge "Give up, come home, the fight has long been lost, now you are already cashing in on those directives which are shaking your self-confidence to a greater extent than they shake your body...."

I would not rest; for all of the remaining time I kept asking more experienced participants of trade fairs whether things are in order this way and whether we do not have more somewhere? And do you know what I received in response? That, for example, to exhibit glass and porcelain in the GDR does not make sense because

the domestic production and the export potential of the GDR are many times stronger than ours, so why should we carry coals to Newcastle?...

Everything can be understood. But I could not accept such an argument. I could not admit to myself, let alone to my readers, that we came to the trade fair in order to lose without a fight. That while at home we proudly extol our glass, our porcelain, our costume jewelry, our beer, the Favorit [soccer team], the Tatra Mountains, our heavy and precision engineering, and who knows what else, I could not believe that at the trade fair, which is among the largest Czechoslovak official expositions of export products abroad, we are standing modestly in the background. And our representatives in the exhibition booths take this as if it were a forever given and it seems that they are generally content with the situation.

My attitude surprised some seasoned hands. They believed that I actually wanted to criticize. As I understood them to say, this is not done because this is a state presentation and representation. To them, our official exposition seemed to have good standards and to be honorable. The booths were uniformly set up, each in the colors of the state tricolor, and the state flag was seen next to the heading describing the country. What else was needed?

And the officiousness of the advertising bothered me, as did the products on display. It seemed to me to lack ideas, to lack spark. I noted that, for example, even Hungary had booths dressed in its national colors and yet it did not bore visitors.

"We are boring?" reacted one of our representatives of an engineering foreign trade enterprise. "Well, you try to get producers to provide you with a decent exhibit for the trade fair.... This is not as simple as you think. Every week there is a trade fair somewhere and noteworthy products are as rare as saffron...."

In the 5 days, I also managed to glance a little behind the scenes in the life of the businessmen at the trade fair. I understood that they traditionally strive to arrange their rented space so that a larger number of square meters were enclosed rather than open, not only because of the shortage of world-standard exhibit products. In our booths, much time was taken up by negotiations behind closed doors, for the most part courtesy visits with partner enterprises in practical small rooms. It was said that at the trade fair it is necessary to "harden" contacts. And they were being hardened....

I dare claim that things look different in the booths of exhibitors who harvest the greatest successes at trade fairs—the booths are intended for commercial negotiations and, thus, the area of the booth is open, well-arranged, and, at first glance, it is evident where things are taking place and everyone can find out what is being



talked about. For the most part, our people do not talk about specific commercial transactions, since what they have to sell has long since been sold out.

I asked myself whether our participants at least made a study of the exhibits of the competition? I will tell the truth: for the entire period, they never moved away from the booth, they could not, there was not time...that was the frequent answer.

After Leipzig, I had the opportunity of visiting the trade fair at Zagreb. I was most upset by the number of fingerprints and handprints appearing on any of the trumpets, saxophones, etc. Unfortunately, this occurred again in the exhibition put on by our people. Nobody even thought of polishing the instruments. All of them acted as though they relied on quality to sell itself.

Not even in Zagreb was I successful in recording even a single world success for our people. I will get to know the trade fairs at Brno, at Bratislava; colleagues who have seen them and spoken about them related similar perceptions. We agreed that our producers and businessmen quite often rave about the fact that they have interested the world with one or another product, as though we in our country did not have the good fortune of being able to be present there.

But it is good, from time to time, to travel to a trade fair abroad; we can more realistically judge what we are and how we stack up against others. We are no longer so naive that we would give ourselves the illusion that the world markets will be shaken when we finally begin to do that which we know and how we know to make it. We well understand that we are one of the developed though small economies, that we are located in the heart of Europe, but that we are not and will not so easily be the belly button of the world.

That is precisely why I have written these lines. Even given the risk that I will bring down upon myself the sphere of state propaganda and the world of businessmen. However, I am convinced that we must develop greater activity even at trade fairs. We do not have the right to give up the fight, to throw in the towel ourselves first before the competition begins. Were we good in glass and porcelain? So we must not let up in our pace and look as though we would much too easily give up even producing [porcelain] gazelles at a time when we would need them. Did we also represent a power in exhibition arrangement? Those times, it would seem, are also behind us.

But what is even worse is that our people throughout the world act as though nothing would compel them to compete for leading positions. While at home, some still perceive the reign of merciful unconscious complacency; this is replaced abroad by a calculated conscious satisfaction that those at home, for the present, do not suspect anything....

But we know it! And we demand that all foreign trade organizations become initiators of acceleration. After all, they know best what we are and how far we are reaching; they must, thus, if necessary, tell it to us even with childlike unpleasant honesty. And that is why we have them.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Kombinat Director on Consumer Goods Production

23000064 East Berlin *BERLINER ZEITUNG*  
in German 30 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Alfred Adolph, general manager of Oberspree Cable Factory, by Dieter Resch: "60 Products and Lots of Progress"; date and place not given]

[Text] For many years the Oberspree Cable Factory kombinat "Wilhelm Pieck" has also been producing consumer goods. Like a good many other factories of the capital, it is taking part in the "GDR 40th Anniversary—Consumer Goods From Berlin" initiative. We spoke with Alfred Adolph, the kombinat's general manager, about results, problems and development trends.

**BERLINER ZEITUNG:** How large is the present volume of the kombinat's consumer goods production?

Adolph: Our kombinat is making an important contribution to the supply of the so-called thousand small things by turning out more than 60 different products. Among these I would include the annual output of some 25,000 km of antenna wire, 800,000 heavy duty extension cords and 170,000 electric heating pads. Your readers must be particularly familiar with our lawn edge trimmers and the Stromfix device. Overall, consumer goods currently make up 6 percent of our total annual output which accounts for more than 3 billion marks.

### Hard Work Led to Overfulfillment of Plan

**BERLINER ZEITUNG:** In what way are the Berlin plants of the kombinat participating?

Adolph: They are producing a good 34 percent of the consumer goods and 33 different items. I might mention plastic hoses, lawn edge trimmers, and clothes trees. We still feel that all this is not enough which is why we are speeding up production in our Berlin plants. Especially in our main plant (the Oberspree Cable Factory) we are registering a substantial increase in finished consumer products in 1988. We are producing 34.2 percent more this year than in 1987. This increase is due in particular to the new production line for colored, three-core plastic hose assemblies with cross sectional dimensions between 0.75 and 2.5 mm<sup>2</sup>. In large part, this production line was the result of our own rationalization program.

The increased production called for a lot of hard work by the kombinat management day after day. And that paid off. The Berlin kombinat plants were able to produce 500,000 Marks worth of consumer goods over and above the planning goals by late September. In producing 1,000 extra lawn edge trimmers and an extra 10,000 Marks worth of various boat fittings, we even managed to meet our goals under the "GDR 40th Anniversary—Consumer Goods From Berlin" by the middle of the year.

**BERLINER ZEITUNG:** Are we to conclude in other words that you are satisfied with your achievements?

**Adolph:** By no means. For one thing, we must make even greater efforts to fulfill our contracts with the business sector on a continuing basis. This applies in particular to delivery of garden hoses and plastic hose assemblies. In this regard we need to resolve some problems relating to cooperation within the kombinat itself and with other partners.

We have reached some general conclusions with respect to these and other questions dealing with an improvement of our consumer goods output. They will help us make far greater progress over the next few years in other Berlin plants, especially in the Koeppenick cable factory.

#### **Firm Plans for Coming Tasks**

**BERLINER ZEITUNG:** You also dealt with this matter during the planning discussions, didn't you? What are the major tasks to be tackled now?

**Adolph:** There are a great many. Let me highlight just a few. We will have to improve the preparatory phase of scientific-technological performance of products and technologies and to guarantee a lead in production as against contractual deadlines of at least 4-5 weeks. An extremely important job for us as managers is to assure the continuing supply of materials and the maintenance of stable, long-term cooperative relations both inside the plants and with the outside. For another thing, we must create an effective quality control system and react quickly to consumer complaints. Furthermore, we will have to rationalize in order to set up an efficient and rational shipping system, including delivery of finished products, preparation of invoices, packaging, and shipment from the factory.

In the long term, we will only be able to fulfill our plan if a number of roadblocks can be removed with the help of all members of the kombinat. This applies in particular to management. In coordination with the SED basis organization, we will make every effort to pinpoint problems as early as possible and thus to adopt measures aimed at remedying them rapidly.

#### **Better Quality Is Goal**

**BERLINER ZEITUNG:** The kombinat will also have to make an effort to improve the quality of consumer goods. What are your goals in this respect?

**Adolph:** As it happens, the present percentage of consumer goods manufactured by the plants of the kombinat and bearing the "Q" quality seal does not conform to the high standards of our other products. Our goal is to increase the number of "Q" seal consumer goods manufactured by our parent plant during the next 2 years, from 60 percent in 1989 to 70 percent in 1990—which is quite a jump.

One of our main objectives is to complete development of our new lawn edge trimmer for which we hope to earn a "superior design" award. Another important project involves the production of coiled cord plastic hose assemblies. This calls for a technology providing for automated production using computer-assisted assembly lines.

## **POLAND**

#### **Free Market Trade Advocated for All Agricultural Products**

26000163 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY Polish No 41, 9 Oct 88 p 5

[Article by Halina Zielinska: "The Incalculable Market: Army of 'Meat Ladies' Balancing Shifts in Mass Product Supply"]

[Text] The average citizen is not particularly interested in the relationship between the supply of dill and the industrial set-up, but the impact that the way agriculture is organized has on the meat hooks in the butcher shops will be a lively topic of discussion in any meat line.

Awareness of the general scope of the operation of demonopolizing agriculture and the need to reduce it, and making the situation open to public view would have a paralyzing effect. One might believe that the authors of the agricultural demonopolization concept had been held back by fear and uncertainty as to the consequences before saying "B," and not by the habit of choosing the middle road and the attachment to concrete-administration methods of operation.

Thus, the ministry is proposing in its program to loosen the straitjacket put on agriculture in the 1952 decree and in later legal acts which put "agricultural turnover" into hands that would provide for maintaining the purity of the political system and protect it from kulak-capitalist deviation. In keeping with the idea of the provisions that were published, the state maintains a monopoly only (?) over the production of spirits, liquor products, the

cultivation of tobacco and production of tobacco products, and the cultivation of poppy seed and Cannabis. Wholesaling of game would also operate according to the old principles to insure the protection of wildlife.

On the other hand, restrictions on the wholesaling of livestock for slaughter and the production of meat and meat products have been eliminated. It would be lawful to buy at wholesale any crops but rape and grain for bread, that is, any grains except wheat and rye. Wholesaling is permissible for all grain producers in quantities necessary to meet local demand, and the surplus is to be bought up by the local grain-milling enterprises and then balanced out centrally. The restrictions on wholesaling rape were dictated by the need for a central balancing mechanism for rape, because it is the basic raw material which determines the production size of vegetable oil and concentrated feed and the export of surpluses.

The elimination of the wholesale monopoly therefore boils down to the need for changes in the system of contract purchasing. According to the principles of the Civil Code, all the enterprises in the socialized economy would be permitted to engage in the contract system, but socialized customers of farmers would not be able to enter into civil contracts with them, in order to, as it puts it: "adopt solutions in the pricing sphere." These changes will also be related to the need to modify the system of benefits to which farmers entering into contract agreements have been entitled.

Everyone would like to have a market. The Ministry of Agriculture would too. What a beautiful prospect! A farmer may choose the buyer of his products and therefore enter into an agreement with whoever offers the most favorable and most honest conditions along with the most efficient service. And the buyer will also be able to choose his source of supply. The level of agricultural production will be improved and modernized. Once small manufacturing also develops, there will be small processing plants too, making it unnecessary to haul crops halfway across Poland to the giant that processes and packs them. Agriculture and related industry will awaken and flourish, which means, in other words, a real market will come into being.

The vision is a beautiful one, but ministerial circles find it disturbing. It is obvious that few people really believe that the rules of economic theory really govern the market and that those influencing it are not a bunch of fools, economic suicidal maniacs, or clever tricksters. Basically, as Slawomir Dyka so aptly expressed it in his article "Eliminating the Wholesale Monopoly for Farm Products" (PRZEGLAD ORGANIZACYJNY, No 2/88), "The market is treated as though it were a group of incalculable events which follow on the heels of the competitive aggressiveness of the economic subjects operating on those markets, and hence, a group of events that is accidental and coincidental, and is dictated by the behavior of market participants. This is supposed to lead inevitably to some special sort of chaos and license."

The habits of 40 years have distorted the instruments for maintaining control over chaos. The instruments are calculators and paper, or the distribution index and cards.

Therefore "coordination" takes up a good deal of space in the ministry's program. "Economic subjects authorized to coordinate the intervoivodship turnover of livestock, meat, and meat products nationwide would be determined by the minister of agriculture... There will be a need to maintain a system of coordination to insure the feasibility of the distribution index. The current system of coordination handled by the companies and industrial groups should include formal authorization to act as required intermediaries, in order to expand their capacity to carry out orders."

So that "the distribution processes" will not be wrested from the clutches of the bureaucrats, we need "effective oversight, which includes the imposition of financial penalties for failure to maintain proper discipline."

A sow cannot shift for herself. Bureaucrats have to help. This is really a great proof of the distrust of this wise animal.

Therefore, although the ministry is loosening the strait-jacket a bit, the laces are still being held fast, as can be seen by the fact that even today the shifting of small quantities of goods from one voivodship to another is being done successfully by an army of "meat ladies" traipsing around Poland with their bags stuffed with veal and sausage.

In short, "the assumptions for the demonopolization of wholesaling," as the ministry has it, are an expression of one more feigned action, especially since there has been silence on such fundamental issues as subsidies and ration cards.

Let us therefore examine, for example, the scene in which market demonopolization is located in another government organization, which (perhaps a sign of the times?) prefers to remain in the shadows.

So, then, besides the elimination of exclusive wholesale rights, obligatory intermediaries and obligatory contracting, and allowing all the so-called economic subjects to sell meat and meat products, free prices are introduced, and minimum wholesale prices are announced. Meat rationing is eliminated, and the subsidies from industry are shifted to us, the consumers. There would be agreement as to the form and size of this subsidy. "Bonds," for example, would be discussed.

Let us imagine splitting up the multiplant processing enterprises, inasmuch as the meat industry is made up of 19 multiplant factory giants employing more than 80,000 persons, and the way it is organized excludes the possibility of competition with all its positive consequences. Along with splitting up the giants, we should



close those plants that are making the worst use of their capacity, that is, those which would drive up prices because they have the highest costs. This scene could also include the introduction of free market prices for grain, which would be contracted and bought up at conventional prices. The production and sale of fodder should also be freed up.

The authors of this concept, which is in competition with the ministry concept, think that it is essential to hurry and that the demonopolization processes should get under way by the beginning of this coming year, but these steps should be preceded by simulations to help predict, for example, what the contract prices for meat would be like once we do away with rationing. There should also be calculations of the size of added fees to make it possible to maintain meat consumption at the previous "rationing level." These calculations should also include an approximation of the increased demand for meat substitutes: fish, eggs, and cheese.

This is a difficult operation, one that is extremely complicated in both the economic and social sense, because the market, as some people say, even one that is normal and peaceful, is not an ideal solution. It has its dangers. Will we notice them in time and be able to find the economic instruments permitting us to eliminate them?

Above all, however, there are the dangers related to the demonopolization process itself, because it may reduce still further a level of consumption of animal protein that even now is too low in the population groups with the lowest incomes. We need to be aware that there is going to be what is called in general terms "the phenomenon of public dissatisfaction." The exportation of meat and meat products may decline. There may be a decline in bread grains.

But this is a half-market, and it is like any halfway measure. These phenomena will not go away. On the contrary, they will get worse, without leading anywhere.

Therefore, we have to say clearly and openly that the only way is to "go the whole nine yards," although we have to wait through lean years for fat cows. The specialists say, however, that it is encouraging that in the case of the food market, there should not be many such lean years.

**Polonia Firm Owner on Economic Forum, Mood of Rakowski Address**

26000158 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY  
in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 88 p 5

[Interview with Stanislaw Szewczyk, owner, first Polonia firm, by Waldemar Piasecki: "The Last Approach"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] The 14th Polonia Economic Forum ended a few days ago. The meeting was

dominated by two moods, one of discouragement and another of cautious hope.

[Szewczyk] This was a forum of last opportunity and, using a sports analogy, the last approach to a weight whose mass we fortunately do not know because what is written on the tablet is not what has been put on the bar. We can no longer see the next approach.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Are you applying that terminology to economic conditions?

[Szewczyk] No normal person will conduct business in a country in which regulations can change overnight and cause enormous losses.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Just what do you mean?

[Szewczyk] I mean the disruption of the economic market for Polonia firms caused by decisions made in 1983 in response to the inability of the policy as it was in 1982 to control us. I also mean the libelous mass media campaign and the media's terror campaign which lasted through 1984 and even beyond into 1985. The problem is not that they criticized us but the way they did it. I will also add that we were paying taxes at high levels unheard of anywhere else in the world.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Let us go back in time. In 1974, foreign Polish industrial businessmen were invited to participate in the Polish economic panorama and in 1976, the first Polonia firm, Stanislaw Szewczyk's Topmart, was formed. After a while, still more other Polonia firms came into being.

[Szewczyk] In 1976, I received my first permission to conduct business in Poland, I produced my first goods and made my first sales. Looking back over these 12 years, I can say that only a single customer was prepared for our business in Poland. This single customer is always prepared to buy good products. The bureaucracy, fiscal apparatus, banks and state industry were certainly not ready for us. We had come from another world and we were proposing another way to do business. Our proposals above all involved productivity, flexibility, reaction to market conditions and the dynamics of marketing. In the beginning, when the shelves still held foreign goods imported on various trade credits, these differences were not so marked but then the crisis came and the differences began to stand out quite painfully. Mainly, people noticed the supposedly high salaries of workers but not, let us say, their sick leave and high job turnover. Later, they began to concentrate on the supposedly low quality of our products and imagined affairs but not our activity in areas especially important to the nation and to its export trade. We were tormented by our different nature as the private sector and small businesses once were.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Does that mean that you were saints and that the fiscal apparatus, the Supreme Chamber of Control and the media tormented you?

[Szewczyk] Did anyone say that? There were cases of illegal activity and scheming and they should have been prosecuted. No one protested that but we could not accept primitive stereotypes and blatant propaganda. This is not to mention the fact that nearly every state-owned firm that was supposed to be involved in business with Polonia firms either stopped producing goods or was closed by the prosecutor.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Such firms could still receive budget subsidies, bank credit and go "under the key." The subject of equality between economic enterprises was very strongly emphasized during discussions in Poznan. At the same time, there was a strong attack on the bill on economic activity with foreign firms that had been introduced to the Sejm by the previous government and then withdrawn by the present administration.

[Szewczyk] And very fortunately! Premier Rakowski knew well enough what would happen to that bill because he is the chairman of the Polonia Society's Economic Commission and a participant to our discussions on a bill to amend the present regulations. As he told us in Poznan, he asked the Marshall of Sejm not to introduce a poorly conceived and erroneous bill but to consult with the Economic Commission and other interested bodies and groups including the Polonia Economic Forum. This is a rational approach and was naturally approved. Those present in Poznan were particularly impressed when the premier said that as the head of state, he wanted success and wanted us to be a part of that success. The day before in a Sejm expose, we had for the first time heard that the premier felt that Polonia capital had an important role in improving the economy and in overcoming the crisis. Mieczyslaw Rakowski's statement in which he stressed that the new law should contain guarantees on capital investment and stabilize the regulations under which the market operates drew much attention. He also called for voluntary association of firms, equality between Polish and foreign business partners, more streamlined administrative procedures for establishing partnerships and a more stable environment for foreign businesses operating in Poland. All of these points were brought up in subsequent discussions.

I must say that this is the first time that a head of the Polish government has treated us in such a serious manner.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] There was much less optimism in the discussions held in theme groups.

[Szewczyk] The premier's declarations were very general in character and have to be given a more substantial legal framework. That is why we feel that a good law on Polonia firms is our most important issue. Such a law

should contain guarantees that firms doing business in Poland will not be tricked. Time cannot be lost in negotiations because we are seeing a quick concentration of foreign capital in the USSR, Yugoslavia and Hungary. A new and unique market has come into being and this has naturally given us choices. Some firms have stopped operating in Poland and moved to the USSR where they are receiving better treatment. Hungary too has opened itself up very boldly and is being strongly considered by several firms that I know of. This makes it quite clear that if Poland is to convince the foreign and Polonia firms that she has really changed her policies, she is going to have to make some competitive offers.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] What do you think is the strongest selling point in the law?

[Szewczyk] The elements of financial and legal security. This means a more reasonable income tax (which has been set at 30 percent in the USSR) and "purifying" the law of its post-Stalinist wickets for administration and discretionary actions. This means abolishing the lack of any possibility to appeal the rejection of a company's registration and ending the application of other and unfamiliar regulations and executive acts that can be arbitrarily and suddenly changed and a ban on obligatory associations and assigned hiring of employees. Furthermore, firms and companies should all be answerable to the same central bureau which should be the central bureau for foreign capital of the Council of Ministers. There have been too many other ministries tinkering with our business. This has created too many relationships and connections, too much sluggishness and too much lost time. Foreign capital must be managed by a well-organized staff rather than by some nightmarish bureaucracy. Such a central bureau would both coordinate the work and intervene against stupidity and lower-level violations of law (such as the decision within a given voivodship that no foreign firms will be allowed to operate).

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Listening to the discussions and arguments used by officials of the department of foreign trade to defend the bill (presented and blocked by the Sejm), I do not think that we are going to have an easy time of it.

[Szewczyk] Some forum participants told me that during the plenum sessions at which they heard the premier speak and in the subsections, it seemed as if they were speaking some language other than Polish. Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that we must storm the bureaucratic paper fortress but I do not know whether we can do this with those who built the fort to begin with.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] The 14th Forum renewed the idea of creating a capital economy and above all a Polonia bank for foreign capital, giving investment credits and helping small businesses. Has the PKO stopped being the bank for Polonia firms?

[Szewczyk] It is an archaic banking structure concerned with promoting and financing consumption rather than investment. Furthermore, there is little faith in this bank. If foreign capital is to operate in Poland, it must have a more modern banking system. That is why we want to form a Polonia bank for foreign Polish capital as well as for any other capital wanting to use its services. The bank would be administered and supervised by both foreign and domestic experts, firm representatives and businessmen, just like the Polonia Foundation. Naturally, Polish enterprises, institutions and banks could also participate. We also see stocks and bonds sold to Polonia as other elements of the capital market. If these issues could be quickly resolved, we could attract into Poland a considerable amount of foreign capital and certainly activate the foreign currency that people here have tucked away in dresser drawers. There must be some sensible alternative to keeping dollars in PKO and spending them in Pewex.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] Do you think that if this bank were established, foreign Poles would flock to it and bring in their dollars?

[Szewczyk] That depends on what it had to offer to whom and on the economic conditions in Poland. If the conditions were like those in the USSR, the bank would certainly play a leading role in financing market investments and more. Let us take another example. Throughout the world, there are hundreds of thousands of retired Poles who might like to come to Poland and live off their retirement pay here. Would they keep their money in such a bank? Would they buy bonds for the construction of better housing for themselves?

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] What would the economy have to do with that?

[Szewczyk] Let us start by saying it is a sick economy. The medicine it needs most is quick restructuralization of its industry. No one can make money by just sitting and enjoying a monopoly. For example, let us take television production. Our own manufacturers are incompetent, spoiled by business and lord the market by dictating sky-high prices. Meanwhile, under the right conditions, firms and companies could give the country good televisions at prices lower than those charged by the Polish monopolists. Restructuralization is also needed in the grocery industry. There ought to be small canning plants, dairies and cold-storage plants.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] It seems that the creation of mixed companies and joint ventures might be a real means of revitalizing the economy. However, it is necessary to overcome the barrier of distrust which is still the strongest hindrance.

[Szewczyk] Yes. Foreign businesses fear nationalization whenever the political winds take a change. That is why we so strongly stress the need for a law that gives some guarantee against nationalization and a clear provision

stating that such a company is not a socialized enterprise. Cooperative trade does seem to have an interesting future as an element joining the Polish economy with that of the European Economic Community and the nations of the Far East.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] With full respect for Polonia firms and their financial ability, it still seems that a palpable improvement of our economy could be brought about by the capital of foreign Polish potentates like Barbara Piasecka-Johnson and others. What do you think?

[Szewczyk] Big fish never go into waters where there are no small fish. How can we attract the foreign Polish billionaires when the millionaires are running away? Piszek and Kobelinski have already left us. Soszynski died a disappointed man. I would answer your question this way: let us encourage Basia Johnson by using facts rather than with patriotic stories and by telling her how rich she is. Let us do well by our millionaires and then we can offer something to the billionaires.

[PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY] As we approach the end of our conversation, let us try to determine the areas of common interest for foreign firms and the state.

[Szewczyk] I do not think I am competent to say what the state's interests are. However, they are certainly the same as what Premier Rakowski said in his expose and in what he told us. Therefore, the state must want to get the economy back on its feet as quickly as possible and balance the market and that means us. But let the state understand us. It expects us to invest in a land of inflation, worker shortages, high investment risks and a high degree of credit distrust. I agree. We know the conditions. However, let us make them less burdensome for us, more motivating and more stable. As the premier said, let us drop the mentality of the petty merchant who wants to make a little money today and lose a lot tomorrow. They cannot go on wanting to make a lot of money on us in a short while while demanding that we make a long-term commitment. I hope that no one is offended by my reminding them of the ABC's of good business.

#### **Ecological Concerns Halt Exploitation of Iron Ore, Rare Metals**

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[Article by Andrzej Gawęcki: "The Battle for 'Silicon': Ore Versus the Environment"]

[Text] "More than one mistake has been caused by a mistaken obsession with natural resources. The ideal situation is one in which ore investments and extraction do not lead to permanent changes in the natural environment. We dare not run the risk of trying something to see how it will actually turn out. Future generations



would not forgive us." Around the hall Prof Barbara Prandecka, of Warsaw University's Department of Legal-Economic Bases of Environmental Protection, was greeted with applause.

"Now what?! Thirty-some years of work have gone to the devil!" confided a geologist during the break, not concealing his anger. "After all this work done drilling, on holidays and Fridays, in all sorts of lousy weather, even blizzards, out in Podunk, now it's all just going to be left on a shelf somewhere?!"

"After all," he went on, arguing from the standpoint of state interests, "this means billions of dollars right there within reach: the loan repaid, industrialization of the Suwalki area, exploitation of national resources. We showed them, right there in black and white, that there would be no harm to the environment. Besides, improvements could still be made here and there. Things could be considered, made still better.

"Hell, we should have gone with it 10 years ago. By today there would already be chimneys over Szurpily. There's nothing for it. There's going to be another battle..."

In the middle of the 1970's, a sudden need for optimism began to develop. The subject of "The Mining of Polymetal Ores at 'Silicon' in Suwalki Voivodship" was taken off the list.

Then all over Poland it became known that there were huge deposits of iron ores and valuable metals: titanium, vanadium, molybdenum, and cobalt in the northern part of the country. People read long accounts about the allure of El Dorado, which the peasant voivodship at the edge of the map looked out upon.

On the other hand, local officials seemed to foresee more accidents, and at the beginning of 1976, Poland's first two scenic parks were established, Wigierski and Suwalki National Parks. This was to prevent irrevocable devastation of what was still an undefiled part of the country.

PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY is therefore mistaken in writing about the terrible location of the ores in Suwalki and Wigierski scenic parks ("Mining Shafts in a Park?"). Wigierski Park is no longer scenic, as the author wishes, but national. It is on the other side of Suwalki, a good 20-some kilometers from Jeleniwa, Szurpily, and Udrynica, villages in a triangle named to locate the mine. The mine would not be in the region of Suwalki Scenic Park but alongside it, which, of course, by no means diminishes the tragic nature of the situation but calls to mind trying to combine fire with water.

This is the very thing that places the decline of the past decade in the context of a prelude to the 4-year battle between the industrial faction, which is anxious to begin the mining, and the environmental protectionists, whose protests are becoming louder.

The crowning argument "for" was to have been a loan of 860 million West German deutsche marks, to have been repaid with deliveries of oil.

"Representatives from the Dresden Bank came to me, and I thought they had water on the brain," voivodship governor Zlotorzynski once told me. "We already knew—this was in 1980—we would not get anything out of the mine, but despite this fact I had maps and charts hung up in my office, and I explained to the West Germans where the new hospital, the new neighborhood development, and the new schools and roads would be. This was all supposed to be the infrastructure for the ore. Then we got into the car and brought plans to bear on the real situation. Just as though everything fit, except for one thing: not the slightest motion was made with regard to the central investment, the mines."

"You see, it couldn't be done," a tall former employee snarls in response to the term "Silicon." "Doesn't anybody realize that these are strategic metals, these very ores that are in the ground in Suwalki Voivodship? Now that means the purest of electronics, rare sorts of chemistry, the aeronautical industry, and therefore rockets too, and so the army. And then? Were we supposed to help the Bundeswehre out with their military equipment? Wield the whip falling on our own backs? Everyone knew from the very beginning that these were not economic decisions but political ones."

But if different decisions had been made there somewhere—everyone knows where—the army of advocates for pure water and green grass would have been annihilated. There is nothing to hide: a mine would be the equivalent of spoiling the northeastern part of Suwalki Voivodship.

As you can see, the decisions were not made, because after 1983, the subject of "Silicon" came up less and less frequently.

The ecological movement had a spectacular victory: beyond the road separating Suwalki Scenic Park from the revealed treasure, no stone has been moved, no tree cut down. There is only the grass which grows ever more abundantly over the seals designating the various boreholes, not keyholes to the treasure.

As before, sheep and cows romp on the mountain pastures in the bucolic scenery. In the summer there is the echo of songs from vacationers sitting around campfires, inebriated with the air, the views, and a special sort of monopoly. And there are the voices of irritated farmers prohibited by official regulations from building anything at all, even outhouses, until a final decision on mining is made. As well as the voices of the disappointed residents of many parishes (gminas) and the voivodship seat too, in whom golden-mouthed journalists developed

a tremendous desire for cultural advancement, lots of money, full shelves as in Silesia, and all the tinsel of the industrialized world, along with Suwalki Voivodship's inclusion in Europe.

This peaceful dream was interrupted by the scientific conference held in Suwalki this September, entitled "Protection of the Natural Environment From the Effects of Industrial Extraction, Using the Example of the Suwalki Voivodship."

"This is nothing but the same scientific problem gussied up using proofs about the need to protect the environment, with a whole highfalutin framework to quiet public opinion," says "my friend" with the doctorate from the State Geological Institute, by way of attack. "But you must have heard even the voivodship governor say when he opened the conference that today's conference should give us the answer as to whether we should ever begin exploiting ore, while maintaining scenic values, and, if so, what should be done to reduce the losses as much as possible."

A model of a diamond-shaped extraction chamber flashes on the screen. Strong presses squeeze its sides, imitating the pressures exerted at a depth of between 1,500 and 2,000 meters. A nearby video camera shows the needles move on the gauges, just as in a real mine.

"This very system, the chamber exploitation system, would work in our case without deforming the surface of the earth," say Prof Adam Szczurowski, of the Silesian Polytechnic's Ore Mining Institute, showing graphs of complicated calculations in his presentation.

The chamber being proposed would be 200 meters long, 80 meters wide, and as high as a 40-storey skyscraper.

The hall grows silent at the prospect, because this is the first time in Poland that the possibility of extracting iron ore using the diamond-shaped chamber method at such depths is being considered.

The calculations give the impression of being exact. Magnetic titaniferous iron ore containing vanadium has industrial amounts of vanadium, magnetite, and ilmenite, making extraction profitable, because the demand for just these elements on world markets is extraordinary.

It is estimated that the area of the future mine site contains more than 820 million tons of ore, from which 525 million tons should be extracted. Because the deposits are not distributed evenly, scientists propose some kind of two-phase development for the "Silicon" model.

During the first stage, deposits at a depth of between 900 to 1,400 meters would be exploited. The processing plant would be located 900 meters down. The ore would be extracted from a depth of 900 meters down to a depth of 1,400 meters by a blind shaft. The concentrate would be

extracted between a depth of 900 meters and the surface. During the first phase, mine production capacity has been set at about 4 million tons of ore per year. The first stage would have a life of 47 years.

During the second stage, the deposits will be exploited from a depth of between 1,400 meters and 2,000 meters. The processing plant will be located 1,400 meters below the surface. Production capacity during this phase will be twice that of the first stage and amount to about 8 million tons of ore per year. The second stage would have a life of 42 years.

Despite the fact that the empty chambers are planned to be filled with flotation tailings, the cinder tips on the surface will nonetheless take up 900 hectares, or, to put it another way, an area the size of Gizycko, Wegorzewo, and Mikolajki combined, will be irrevocably lost.

Given this amount of extraction and processing, 5 tons of sulfur per year will fall on each kilometer within a radius of from 10 to 15 kilometers. Each day powerful pipelines will deliver 8,000 tons of water from nearby lakes and rivers. As a result, the mirror surface of Lake Szelment will drop by from 20 to 30 centimeters.

The cleanest water sources up until now have been Lake Szelment, Lake Szurpily, Lake Gole Bagno, and Lake Udryn, which altogether make up about 36 square kilometers. They will be continually degraded by chemical pollutants.

A similar fate awaits a dozen and some thousand hectares of arable land, including the thousand-hectare Rowelska Valley, which will become a cesspool for time immemorial. This chemical time bomb is to accumulate millions of tons of waste water from the flotation process. Suffice it to add that in place of fertilizer, heavy-metal compounds will seep into the soil and water.

And since we have touched upon the subject, research which has been conducted by the Bialystok Medical Academy for many years in this part of Suwalki Voivodship shows the great increase in morbidity related to pathological elements not occurring elsewhere. Heavy metals, which build up in the water, fruits and vegetables, and meat, cause cancer, mental retardation, premature births, and infant dystrophy. It would therefore be good for this chapter of "Silicon" also to be revealed and made known to the public.

Along with the fact that forest losses in timber growth are estimated at from 160,000 to 165,000 cubic meters of raw material per year. It is also projected that when the combine is erected, nearly 40 percent of Suwalki Scenic Park, which is supposedly national property, will be on the boundaries of the mining area. Tall spruces and pines will topple, to be replaced, literally, by forests of chimneys. The lowest is calculated at 42 meters, the highest, at more than a quarter kilometer.

Joining Suwalki Voivodship to Europe would have its price: according to the documentation, under "Silicon," 4,000 hectares would be turned into a huge bomb crater. Half the parish of Jelenie would be subjected to concrete. Meanwhile in ten localities, not excluding those in Suwalki Voivodship, a permanent state of ecological disaster would have to be announced.

Acid rain, dead forests, dry faucets, the steppelike fields producing lower yields, air which makes breathing difficult, and lakes in which one is afraid to swim [are what such an ecological disaster would mean].

The vision of the Apocalypse has more than one face.

Alongside the devastation of agriculture in part of the voivodships taken over by the mine, the social losses, as always will be incalculable. Sociologists and demographers can only conjecture in regard to such a delicate matter, which can be examined neither with the naked eye nor under the microscope. Losses of this sort are different in a special nonmaterial way.

There is no "Silicon," and many officials lie awake at night thinking about the hundreds of millions, if not billions, that have gone to draft successive versions of technical and economic projections, to compile volumes of documentation, to perform laboratory tests, and to do studies. Nearly a hundred boreholes have been made over the years by the best specialists, using high-quality equipment.



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